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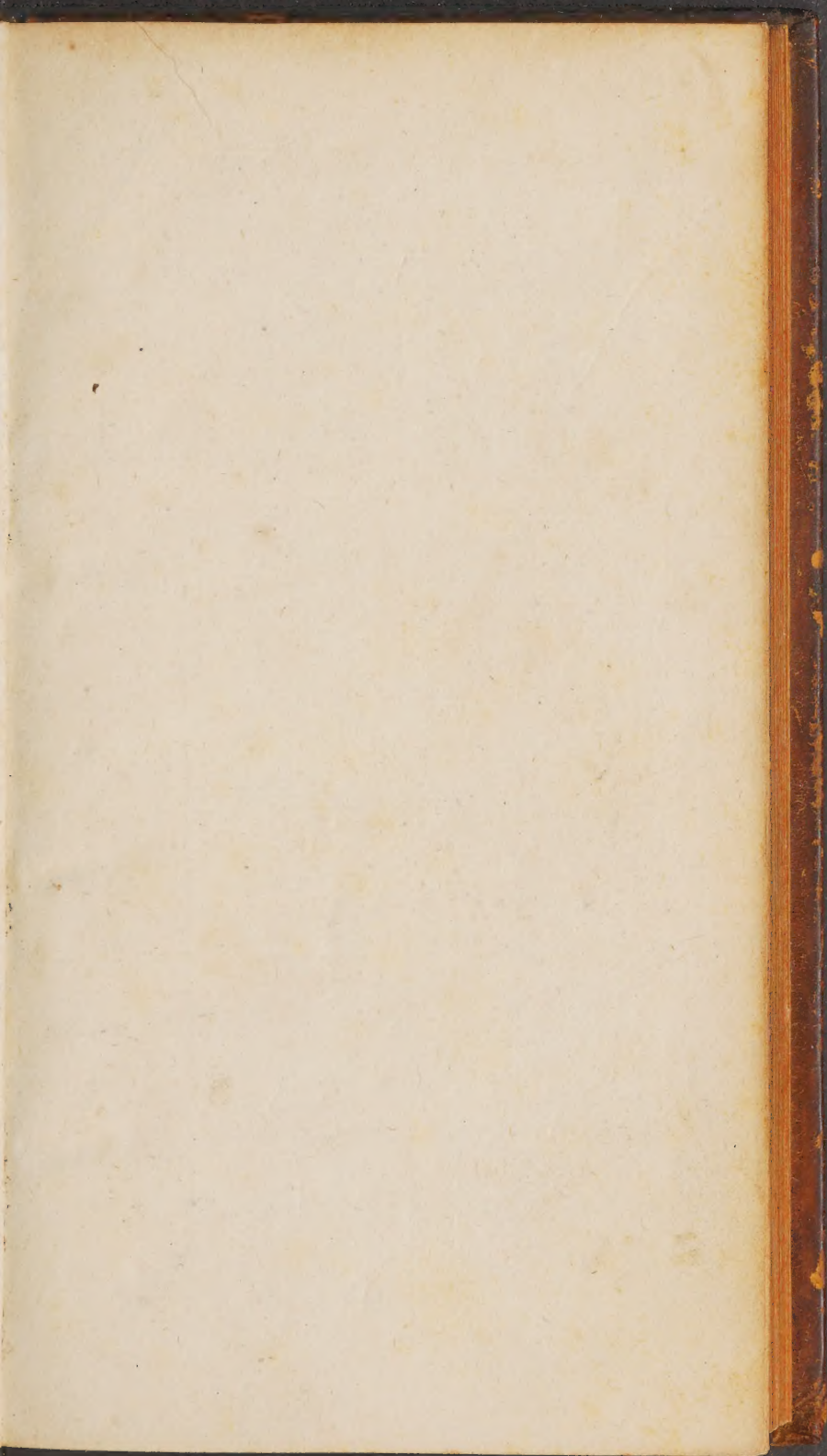
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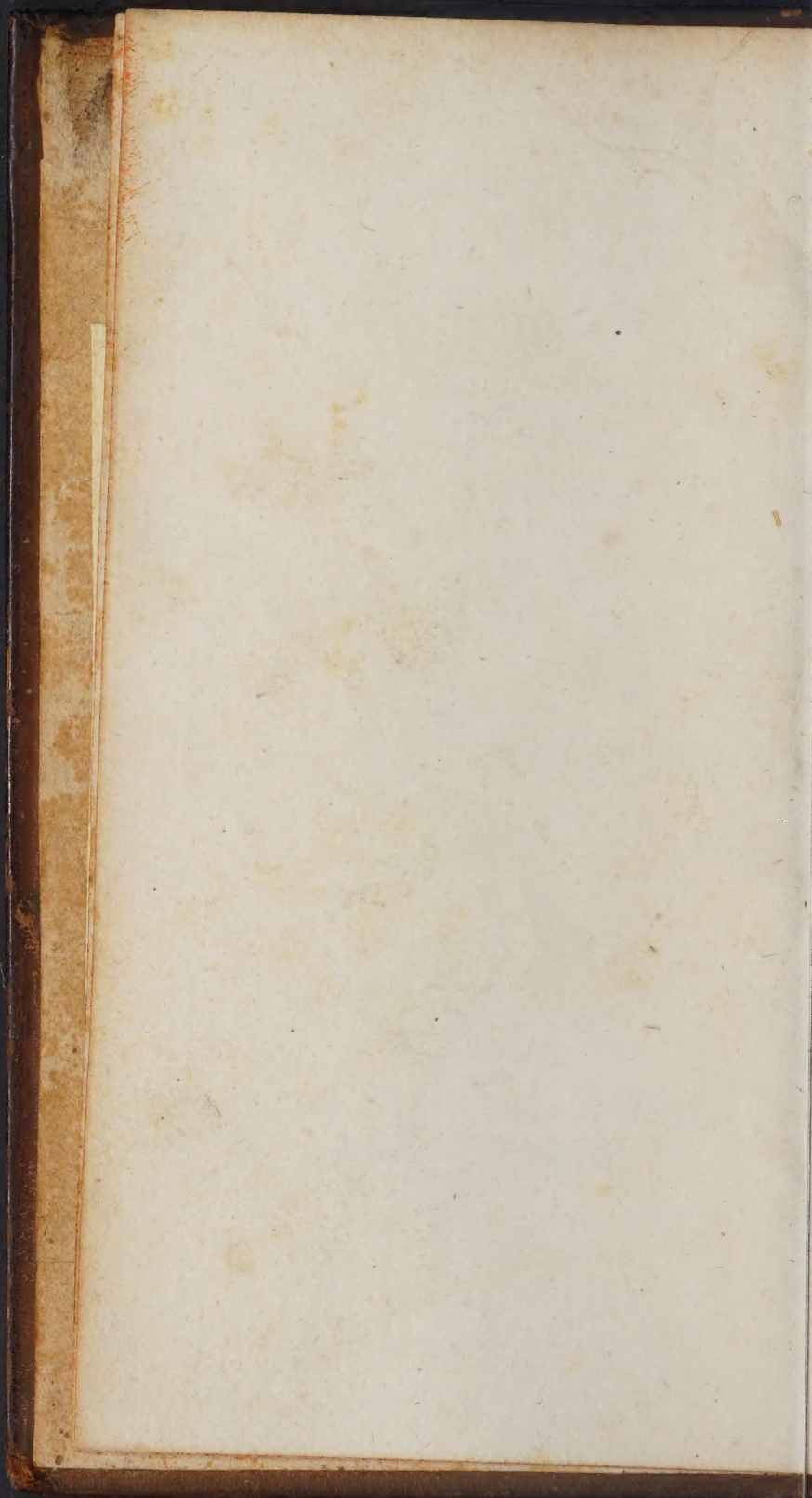
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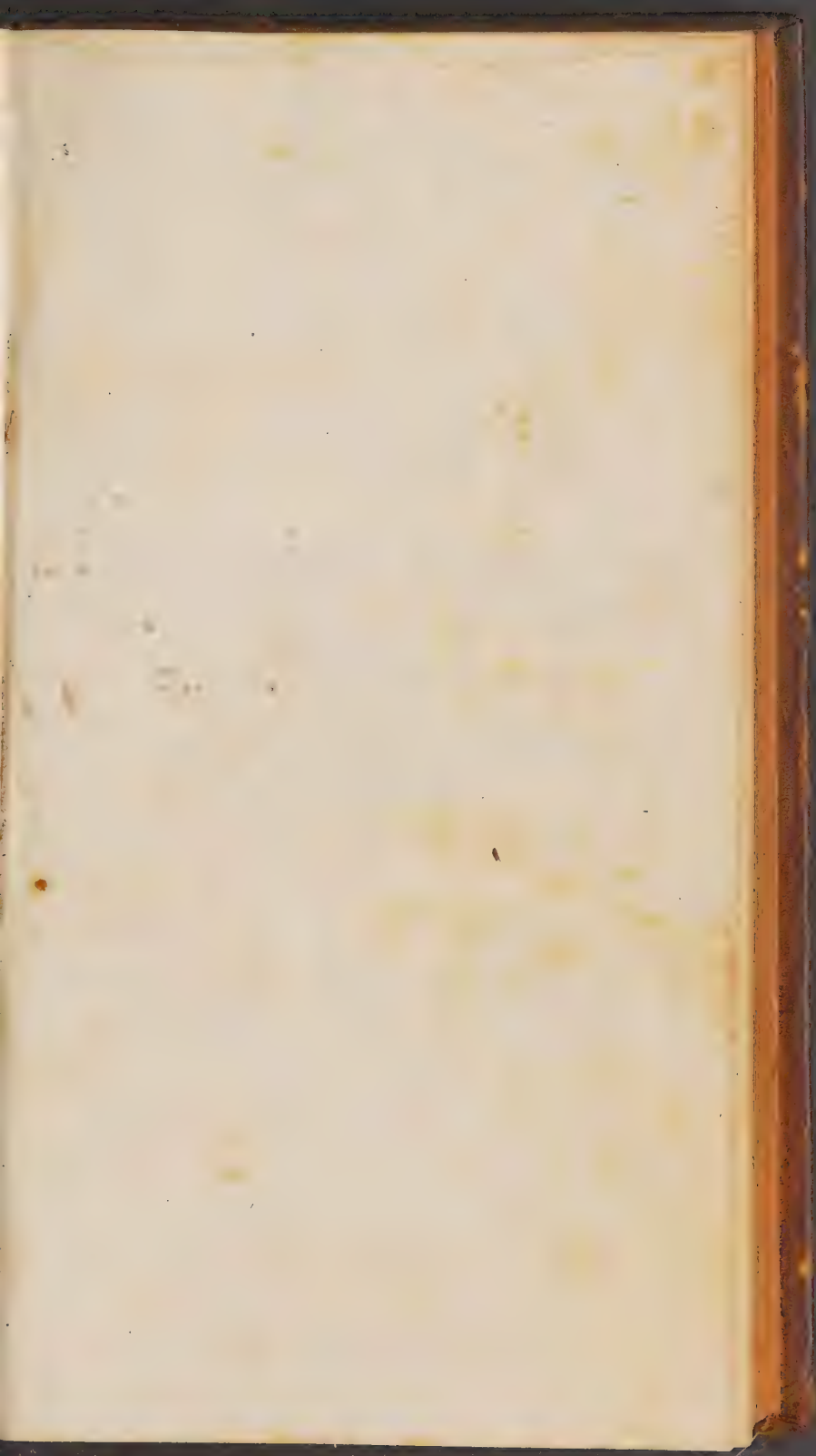
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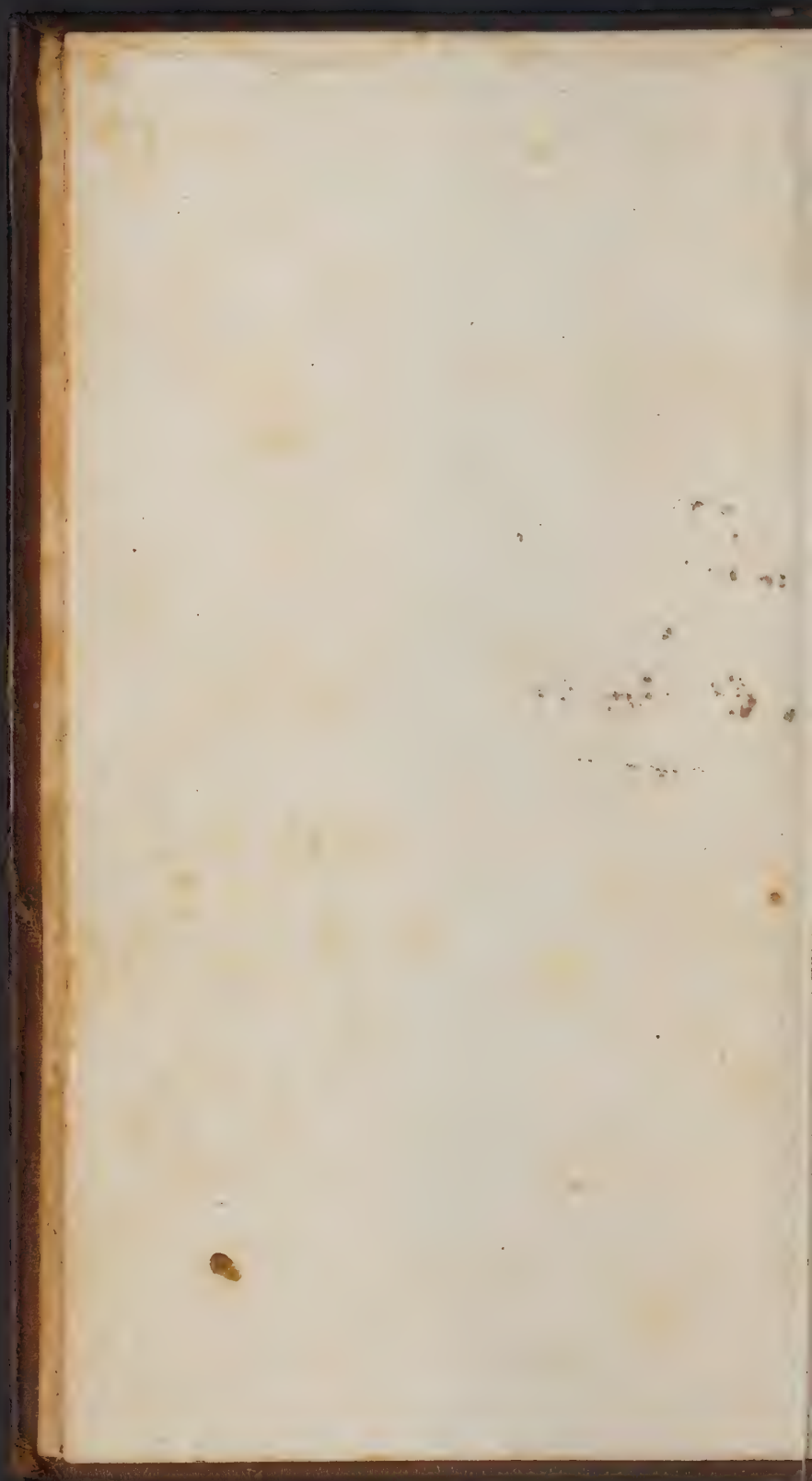
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REFLECTIONS

On

Mr. V A R I L L A S's

H I S T O R Y

Of the Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* in matters of Religion.

And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.

By G. B U R N E T, D. D.

A M S T E R D A M.

Printed in the Year, 1686.

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R E F L E C T I O N S

O N

Mr. VARILLAS's HISTORY

O F

The Revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of Religion, and more particularly on his 9th Book that relates to England.

MR. *Varillas* has within a few Years given the World so many Books of History, and these have been so much read, and so well received, that it seems he thinks he is now so far possessed of the Esteem of the Age, that he may venture to impose upon it the falsest Coyn that can be struck, not doubting but that the name *Varillas* stamp'd upon it will make it pass Current, and this being a time in which some have thought that they might do whatsoever they pleas'd against those of the Religion, he it seems thinks he may likewise say whatsoever he pleas'd against them, that so there may be a due proportion between the Injuries that he does them with his Pen, and those that others make them feel with severer Tools; and perhaps he thought the severities that are now exercised upon them, are so contrary to that

Tenderness with which the Humane Nature, not to say the Christian Religion, is apt to inspire all that are not Transported with such violent Passions, that they drown the Motions of our Bowels towards the Miserable, that nothing could divert the World from those Merciful Inclinations, but the dressing up the first beginnings of the Reformation in such odious Representations, as might possess the Age with so much fury against them, that none of the Miseries that they suffer, might create the least Compassion for them.

It is true, Princes have their Prerogatives with which they take great Liberties as their several Passions are excited and dextrously managed, the desire of Glory mixing with a Heat of Blood, at one time can produce a War, as terrible in its Consequences, as it was unjustifiable in its first beginnings, and the same ambition mixing with a Superstitious disposition of Mind, and working upon colder Blood, can at another Time produce a Violation of Edicts that have been solemnly sworn to, and often confirmed, and accompany that with a sequel of Severities, that are more easily lamented than expressed; yet an humble regard to the Sublime Character of a Crown'd Head lays a restraint on those Groans, which we would rather stifle than give them their full Scope, lest the Language of our Sorrows look like an accusing of those, whom, after all that our Brethren have suffered at their hands, we would still force our selves to reverence, and therefore we chuse rather to support our Grief, than
to

to vent it at their cost. But small Scriblers, who have set a price upon their Pens, and sacrifice our reputation, that they may merit a pension at the hands of the chief Instruments of our Brethrens sufferings, are not to look for such respect : he that fights against the Laws of War ought to expect no quarter when he is taken.

A Historian that favours his own side, is to be forgiven, tho he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he sets out the best sides of his party, and the worst of those from whom he differs ; and if he but slightly touches the failings of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other side, tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Historian, yet this bias is so natural, that if it lessens the credit of the Writer, yet it does not blacken him ; but if he has no regard either to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange, if others take some pains to expose him to the World. And tho' their Conscience and Religion obliges them to take other measures with relation to Truth, and their Breeding engages them to a strict modesty of Stile, yet if the things that are said are as severe as they are true, and as wounding as they may appear soft, it is nothing but what a Zeal for Truth, and an Indignation at so much ill managed injustice draws from them.

It is not to be denied, that Mr. *Varillas* has an art of writing that is entertaining, he pre-

tends to discover many Secrets to give pictures of Men to the Life, and to interweave the Histories that he relates with a thread of Politicks that is very agreable, only this appears to be overdone, and those who have had much practice in humane Affairs see that the conduct of the World is not so steady and so regular a thing as he loves to represent it, unlookt for Accidents, the Caprices of some Tempers, the secrets of Amours and Jealousies, with other particular passions are the true sources of almost all that is transacted in the World; even Interest it self does not always govern Mankind, but Humour and Passion have their turns, and oft-times the largest share in humane affairs. So that I ever thought that his books had too much of the air of a Romance, and seemed too fine to be true. He does indeed now and then, to maintain his Reputation in his Reader's mind, vouch some Letter or Narrative, but he neither tells whether it is in Print, or in Manuscript, or where he had it, and where others may find it: so this way of Citation looked suspicious, yet I could not easily take up such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that all this was his own Invention, but being in *Paris* last Summer, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with some men of great probity, and that had particularly applied themselves to examine the History of *France* with great exactness; they were of the Church of *Rome*, and seemed to have no other dislike at Mr. *Varillas*, but that which was occasioned by the liberty that he had given himself, to write his

his own Imagination for true Histories, they assured me there was no regard to be had to any thing that he Writ, that he had gathered together many little Stories which he knit together as he pleased, and that without any good Authority: and they told me that the greatest number of the pieces he cited were to be found no where but in his own fancy. In a word, they spoke of all his Books with a sharpness of stile, and a degree of Contempt, that I will not repeat, lest I seem to come too near his forms of Speech, which are the worst Patterns that one can follow.

I found he was generally so much decried in *Paris*, that he has reason to say in his Preface, *that when the Archbishop of Paris thought on him, all the World had abandoned him*, for I did not find a Man under a more Universal Contempt than he was, and the esteem in which his Works were held in Foreign Parts, far beyond what was paid them in *France*, was imputed to his Method of Writing, that wants none of the Beauties of History, except that of Truth, and to the Ignorance in which Strangers live as to the particulars of their History. It is true, at last he has found a Patron and a Pension, and now he has given us an Essay of his Merits: but if this Work is examined severely, he will very probably soon lose his Appointments, since Mercenary Pens are seldom paid longer than they can be useful. Here one finds so much occasion for Censure, that whereas in other Books one must run up and down to find Matter for a Critical Judg-

ment, here it occurs so copiously that a man must take care not to surfeit his Reader with too much of it ; and therefore must chuse out the more remarkable Errours, and there are even so many of these, that it is to be feared that the World will not think him nor his Writings worth the time and the pains that must be bestowed on them.

Mr. *Maimbourg* has set a Pattern to the World, that tho' few will care to imitate, yet it has taken so much with the Present Age, that it is no light Indication of its degeneracy, when such Books are so much read and sold, in which the Writer seems to have so broken loose from all the common Measures either of Honesty or Shame, that one would wonder of what Composition he were made, if they did not know that he has lived 50 years in the Jesuite Order: For as he has no regard to Truth, or likelihood in what he Writes, so he seems to be Proof against the evidentest discoveries of his Prevarications that are possible ; and when they are laid open in a manner capable of making any man besides himself to blush, he neither has the Conscience to confess his Errours, nor the sense of Honour to justify himself: But he finds out still new matter to write on, and a new stock of *Champaigne* Wine, as I have been told, that he has oft said, to make his Blood boil till he has spoild another piece of History ; and he thinks a scornful Period or two in a Preface is enough to carry off all the Shame to which his Errours ought to condemn him. He has also Impudence to dedicate his Books to the King, and

and the world is still willing to be cozened by him. This Trade has succeeded so well with him, that it seems Mr. *Varillas* vies with him in it, and as he has the chaster stile, and the more natural Way of misleading his Reader, so he has resolved not to be behind him in a bold Quality that I love not to set down by its proper Name. But tho' Mr. *Varillas* has the Art to refine upon the Pattern that Mr. *Maimbourg* set him, yet Mr. *Maimbourg* is the Author of the Invention, and therefore he deserves the better Pension.

History is a sort of Trade in which false Coyn and false Weights are more Criminal than in other Matters; because the Errour may go further and run longer: tho' these Authors colour their Copper too slightly to make it keep its credit long. If Men think there are degrees of Lying, then certainly those that are the most loudly told, that wound the deepest, that are told with the best Grace, and that are transmitted to Posterity under the deceitful Colours of Truth, have the blackest Guilt; but some Men have arrived at equal Degrees in hardning their Consciences, and in steeling their Foreheads, and are without the reach either of inward Remorses or publick Discoveries; so that as *Augustus* fancied there was a Charm in the Pillow of a *Roman*, that died hugely indebted, since without an extraordinary soporiferous Composition he could not fancy how such a man could sleep securely; so if Humane Nature did not often produce some very irregular Individuals, a Man that feels the Authority that

Truth and Modesty have over a pure Mind, cannot easily imagine by what secret others can quite extinguish those Inclinations which he finds are so prevalent in himself. But I will now by Mr. *Varillas*'s leave take the Liberty to set before him some of his most conspicuous Errours, and tho' I do not expect much sincerity from himself, yet I hope the World will be Juster than he has shewed himself to be.

Mr. *Varillas* begins his History with a view of the Progress of that which he calls Heresy, in a Prophetick Stile, setting forth what Effects it was to produce, as if he were foretelling what was to fall out, and that for 11. Pages (according to the Impression of *Amsterdam*) this has so little of the Air of a Historian, and is so full of the Figures of a Declaimer, that it looks liker the Strain of a heated and angry Fryer, than of a grave and serious Writer of History, who ought to be always in cold Blood, and ought not to let the heats of a vitious Rhetorick transport him. But this is so like one of the forced Raptures of some Missionary, that one would think it was writ either by one of them, or for one of them. It is much a safer thing to prophecy concerning Matters that are past, than concerning those that are to come, and one is less in danger of committing Errours; yet when heat enters into matters of History, and meets with so vast a deal of Ignorance as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, no wonder if it carries him into great Errours.

If Mr. *Varillas* had gathered the History of the last Age out of any Books or out of those
Letters

Letters that he so often vouches, he could not have said that *Edward* Pag. 5. the 6ths Tutor or Governour was the Duke of *Northumberland*, since there is not any one Book writ concerning that Time, that does not shew the contrary. The Duke of *Somerset* was his Governour, and for the Duke of *Northumberland*, tho' the last two Years of that Reign, in which that King was past the Age of Tutelage, he bore the chief Sway of Affairs, yet he had neither the Character of the King's Tutor or Governour, nor any other whatsoever, but only that of a Privy Councillour, that was much considered by him, and he at his death professed that he had been always a Catholick in his Heart, so that his pretending to be of the Reformed Religion to serve his Interest, shews that he belongs no more to our Church, than the new forced Converts belong to that of *Rome*.

In the same Page he says that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* did by her Bastard Brother's perswasions marry a single Gentleman, and on the Margent he gives his Name *Henry d'Arley*; this is a new Proof how little he knows the Books of the last Age. This *Henry* whom he calls *d'Arley* was *Henry* Lord *Darley*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, which was one of the chief Families of *Scotland*, and a Branch of the Family of the *Stewarts*. It is true, it came off from it before the Crown came into it by Mariage, yet the Grandfather of this *Henry* had matched with one that was very near the Crown, and Cosen German to K. *James* the 4th, and Sister

to *Hamilton Earl of Aran*, this *Lord Darly's* Mother was also Uterine Sister to *K. James* the 5. being the Daughter to the *Queen Dowager of Scotland* that was *K. Henry* the 8th's Sister, who by her second Mariage with the *Earl of Angus (Dowglas)* had *Lady Isabel Dowglas*, who was bred in the Court of *England*, and whom *K. Henry* the 8th married to the *Earl of Lenox*, that had by her this *Lord Darley*, who as he was the *Queen of Scotland's* Cousin German, was also the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after her, and might have been a dangerous Competitour to her in that Succession, having been Born and Bred in *England*, so that this Marriage was so far from making her contemptible to her Subjects, that it was considered as the wisest act of her Life: and *Mr. Var.* could not Imagine any thing more honourable to the *Earl of Morays* Memory, than to make him the adviser of so wise a Choice. It is no wonder to see *Mr. Var.* make so bold with meaner Persons, when he takes so much Liberty with the Royal Family of *England*, as to Stain their descent; for which if the consideration of the Crowns they wear, did not restrain him, yet the particular regard to the King that now Reigns, ought to have taught him so much respect as not to have ventured to blot his Scutcheon so far as to call his Great Grandfather a single Gentleman, and if he had paid the respect he owed to the Memory of that unfortunate Princess, he had not enlarged so much on her Story, but I know what is due to the Memory of a crowned Head, even when it is laid in Ashes, and
tho'

tho' he makes an easie weaknes to be her prevailing Character, upon which he would discharge all her Misfortunes, this Picture is so different from the Truth that she was certainly one of the wittiest and highest spirited Women that ever lived.

But it seems Mr. *Varillas* has pretended to some Pension from the Crown of *England*, and in revenge for the disappointment he has resolved to debase the Race all he can. Here he affords our Kings the honour to be descended at least from a Gentleman, tho' one of Lib. 9. p. 249. the ordinarie sort ; but upon another occasion he is not so liberal, for in his History he says that *Henry* the 8th had reasons to desire the Mariage of his Bastard Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, with his Daughter *Mary*, that were too well known, for libels had been spread over all *Europe*, reproaching him that his Great Grandfather was not a Gentleman, but that by his Credit at Court, and by the vast riches that he had acquired, he had obtained leave to marry a Daughter of the Family of the *Plantagenets*, that was then 16 degrees distant from the Crown, and yet by that means his Grand-child came to reign ; upon which he makes a long speculation concerning the King's Reflections on that matter, and the Reasons that restrained him from writing on that Subject, as if it were an ordinary thing for Princes to become their own Heralds. He also tells us how he comforted himself by the remembrance of the meanness of *Arbaces* K. of *Persia*, that was the Son of a Lock-smith, whose Posterity had reigned so long,

long, and with so much glory, and therefore he says he designed to marry his Natural Son and his Daughter together. Here is such a mixture of Impertinencies, that it is not easie to know at what one is to begin, and if there were but this one period, it is enough to let the World see, how incapable Mr. *Varillas* is of writing History. I shall not in this place shew the falsehood of that imputation on *Henry* the 8th, that he designed this incestuous Match, for that will come in more properly upon another occasion; only if his Birth was defective on his Great Grandfathers side, it was an odd method for the correcting of it, to think of adding a new blot, and of bringing a Bastard into the Succession; so the reason is as foolish as the matter of fact is false, and the Ignorance that Mr. *Var.* shews here, is the more remarkable, because this matter belongs to the most extraordinary transaction that is in the whole *French History*, in which he pretends to be so conversant. I need not say any more to prove the *Tudors* to be Gentlemen, but to tell that they are *Welshmen*, of the Race of the Ancient *Brittans*, who do all pretend to the highest Birth of any in the *English Nation*, and do run up their Pedigrees to *Julius Cesar's* time; among whom is the Ap. *Theodores*, or the Sons of *Theodore*, that by a corruption of some Ages were called *Tudors*: but knows Mr. *Varillas* so little of the *French History*, as to have forgot that the Daughter of *France*, that was married to *Henry* the 5th of *England*, in whose right both *Henry* the 5th, and her Son *Henry* the 6th, were

were crowned Kings of *France* in *Paris*, did after King *Henry* the 5th's death, marry *Owen Tudor*, by whom she had 3 Sons, the two eldest were made the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, being the Kings Uterine Brothers, and the next heirs to that Title, that he claimed to the Crown of *France*, in the right of his Mother (which I am far from thinking was a good one.) This being the case, it was no extraordinary thing for a man of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Rank to marry a Lady that was then at such a distance from the Crown, tho' it was only in the 6th and not the 16 degree; but I do not insist on this, because it may be only the fault of the Printer, and I will not descend to a doubtful fault, when I have such material ones in my way. I know there are a sort of men that are much more ashamed when their Ignorance is discovered, than when their other vices are laid open, since degenerate minds are more jealous of the reputation of their understanding, than of their honour. And as Mr. *Varillas* is very like to be of this temper, so if a sympathy with Mr. *Maimbourg* has not wrought him up to the like pitch of assurance, such discoveries as these ought to affect him a little; and here a Man is apt to lose his patience, when he finds such a Scribler pretend to defame the Noblest blood in the World.

There is nothing else in the first Propheticke *Rhapsody* that relates to our matters, so I was inclined to go from hence to a more particular enquiry into our *English* af-
fairs, only the Ignorance that he dis-

Pag. 6.

covers

covers in the next paragraph is so surprising that I will bestow a short remark on it. He says, that the *Switzers* were so prevailed on by this pretext, that their separating themselves from the Roman Communion was the best expedient to preserve them from falling under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* (tho' it is certain they were then in no sort of fear of that) that the four chief Cantons were seduced in less than a years time ; but that the seven little Cantons continued in the belief of their Fathers, and the two middle sised Cantons tollerated equally both the Religions.

One would have thought that a man that had pretended to the name of a Historian, would have at least begun his studies with some small taste of Cosmography, and would have taken some pains to know the Map ; and as the *Switzers* are in the neighbourhood of *France*, so they have been so long the Allies of that Crown, that the Ignorance of the Importance of the Cantons is a salut in one that pretends to be such an illuminated Historian, that deserves a worse correction than I think fit to give it. To reckon *Basle* and *Shaffhausen* among the great Cantons, and *Lucern* among the small Cantons, *Soloturn* and *Fribourg* being also so considerable that some reckon them with the great Cantons ; and to put *Glaris* and *Apenzel* in a superiour order to them that are among the smallest, of the least is such a Complication of errours that is not easy to imagine how he had the luck to fetch in so many into one period. But this is not all the Ignorance that is in
it ;

it ; for whereas he pretends , that the four Cantons, that received the Reformation did it in less than a year, this is so false, that *Zwinglius* having begun to preach the Reformation in the year 1519. the whole matter was examined in a course a several years, and at last *Zurich* received the Reformation in the year 1525. *Bern* three years after in the year 1528. and *Basle* a year after in the year 1529. as for *Shaffhouse* I must confess my Ignorance, but there was at least 10 years interval in this matter ; and if *Lucern* is not so much in his favour, because it is the Residence of the *Spanish* Ambassadour, yet I cannot imagine what has made him degrade *Soloturn* into the number of the small Cantons, which is the Residence of the *French* Ambassadour, and is reckoned by many among the greater. But it is likely that he knew nothing of all this matter, except by report, and perhaps he thought the period would run smoother to range the Cantons thus, in the great, in the small, and the middle-sized Cantons, and that it would also reflect on the Reformation as a precipitated change to say that 4 Cantons turned in one year.

But tho' Impertinence is a fault scarce to be named, when one has so many of a more criminal nature in his way, yet such as are more signal and more advantageously situated for the Reader's eye, deserve to be viewed in our passage, with the scorn that they deserve. Mr. *Varillas* begins his 3. book, which opens the progress of *Luther's* affairs, with a Preamble of 38. pages, in which he sets out the state of *Europe* at that time, so copiously, and with so little judgement, that he bestows

bestows 14. pages on the Conquests that *Selim* the Turk had made, and on his defeat of the *Mamelucks*. This whole tedious ramble signifies nothing to *Luther's* matters ; but in short it was a secret to swell the Volume, and to raise the price of the book, as well as it must lessen the price of the Author, who shews, how little he understands where he ought to place his digressions. What notions does that view of every State of *Europe* give the world, that doe any way prepare the Readers mind for what was to come after, unless it be that Mr. *Var.* being to present a piece of as arrant Poetry as any that ever possessed the Stage, he thought it necessary to fill it at first with many Actors, and to make a great appearance, tho' none of them were to act any part in his Play ? But since he will needs be writing, tho' he understands not the common Elements, I will take the pains for once to instruct him a little how he ought to have made this introduction, since he it seems was resolved to begin with one.

He ought then to have open'd the State of *Europe* with Relation to Religion and Learning ; he ought to have shewed what scandals the *Popes* and the Court of *Rome* had given, what was the State of the secular Clergy, the Ignorance, Irregularity, and vices of the Bishops and Curates ; what were the disorders and dissolutions of the Monastick Orders, both of those that were endowed and of the Mendicants. He ought to have shewed in what sort of Studies they imploied their time, and with what

what sort of Sermons they entertained the People, and to this he ought to have added somewhat of the State of the Universities of *Europe*; and of the beginnings of Learning that were then arising. He ought to have shewed the different Interests, in which the several Nations of *Europe* were engaged, after the times of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basle*; and to this he might have added the State of the Courts of *Europe* with Relation to Religion, upon all which he might have found matter for a long, and a much more pertinent Introduction. And to conclude, he ought to have told the Dispositions, in which the Peoples minds were, as to those matters: and if he would needs make a vain shew of his faculty of telling of tales, he might have set out the State of the *Eastern Churches*, after the Treaty at the Council of *Florence*, and of its effects; of the ruine of those Churches; and of the Ignorance, as well as misery to which they were reduced by the rigour of the *Mahometan* yoke. It is true this was not a necessary preliminary to the bringing *Luther* on the Stage, but it had been much less impertinent, than a long recital of *Sultan Selim's* Conquests.

But I am carried too far, and hereafter I will confine my self to that, which does more immediately belong to me. He begins that part of his Advertisement, that relates to the Affairs of *England*, with a sort of an Apophthegme worthy of him: He says, it is without Comparison more difficult to be exactly true in Matters of Religion, than in other Matters, since in those others, it is only

only Interest and Passion that make Men lie; but in Matters of Religion Conscience does so entirely conquer all the Powers of the Soul, and reduces them to such a Slavery, that it forces a Man to Write that which it dictates, without troubling himself to examine whether it is true or false. Here is such a View of his Notion of Religion, that how false soever this Proposition is in it self, yet it gives us a true Light of his Ideas of Religion. Good God! shall that Principle, which does Elevate and Illuminate our Natures, be considered as a more powerful depravation of them, than that which flows either from Interest or Passion? Shall that which is the Image of the God of Truth, and that reduces the Soul to a chaste purity of Spirit, be made the Author of the Enslaving of all our Powers, and the Emancipating us from all scrupulosity concerning Truth or Falsehood? This perhaps is the Character of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, tho' those that know him well assure me, that Religion makes very little Impression on him; and if that is true, then his Apophthegme fails in himself, since the Interest of a Pension, and the passion of making himself acceptable in the present time, have as Intirely freed him from all regard to Truth, as ever any false Principle of Religion did an enraged Zealot. It is matter of horror to see Religion, and Conscience set up as the violentest Corrupters of Truth: but we know out of what School this has sprung, and it seems Mr. *Varillas* has so devoted himself to the Order of the Jesuites, that he is resolved to speak aloud, that which they
more

more prudently think fit to whisper in secret, and indeed if we may judge of him by this Character, that he gives of Religion, we must conclude him to be entirely possessed with it, since never Man seem'd to be less solicitous, than he is, concerning the Truth, or falshood of the things that he avers.

He accuses me of favouring my own side too much, and that if I confess some of King *Henry's* Faults, it is only that I may have an occasion to excuse the wretched *Cranmer*. This is some Intimation, as if he had read my Book, but I do not believe he has done it : for tho' I have no great Opinion either of his Vertue, or of his Understanding : yet I do not think, he is so forsaken of Common Sense, and of all regard to his Reputation, as to have adventured to have advanced so many notorious falsehoods, if he had seen upon what Authentical grounds I had so exposed them, that I do not think it possible even for Mr. *Maimbourg* himself, after all his 50 years Noviciat, to arrive at a Confidence able to maintain them any longer, if he had once read my Book, and what I had writ was at least so important, that he ought to have weakned the credit of my History, by some more evident Proofs than that of saying barely, that I was extream partial to my own side. My book was so much read, and so favourably spoken of in *France* these three Years past, that in common decency he ought to have alledged somewhat to have justified his Censure ; but this manner of writing was more easy, as well as more imperious. And if a large

Volume of History supported with the Authentick proofs, that has ever yet perhaps accompanied any Book of that sort, is to be thus shaken off, it is a vain thing to write Books for Men of Mr. *Varillas*'s temper.

This had been more pertinent, if he had voucht for it a report, which was so spread over *Paris*, that I had received advices of it from several hands, of a design in which, as was reported, a Clergy man was engaged that has many excellent qualities, to which Mr. *Varillas* seems to be a great Stranger, for he has both great application, and much sincerity. He has searcht with great exactness that vast Collection of Mss. that relate to the last Age, which are laid up in the King's Library, and he had found so many things relating to *England*, that he intended to publish a Volume of Memoirs relating to our Affairs: he had also said, that in some things he would enlarge himself more copiously than I had done, and that in other things he must differ from me. Matters generally grow bigger by being oft told, so this was given out as a design to write a Counter-History, which should overthrow all the credit that my Work had got. But upon my coming to *Paris*, I found some sincere enquirers into truth, and who by consequence are Men that have no value for Mr. *Varillas*, who intended to bring us together that we might in an amicable manner reason the matter before some of our common Friends, and both of us seemed to be so well disposed to sacrifice all to truth, that two Persons of such Eminence,
that

that they can receive no honour by the most advantageous Characters that I can give them, who were Mr. *Thevenot* and Mr. *Auzont*, did procure us a meeting in the King's Library, and in their presence. In which the Abbot as he discovered a vast memory, great exactness, and much sincerity, so he confessed that he had no exceptions to the main parts of my History; he mentioned some things of less moment, in all which I gave not only our two learned Arbiters, but even himself full satisfaction, so that I quickly perceived I had to do with a man of honour. He insisted most on the judgment of the *Sorbonne* against K. *Henry's* Mariage, which is not in their Registers. But I was certainly informed by a Dr. of the *Sorbonne*, that their Registers are extreemly defective, and that many of their Books are lost. He alledged a Letter to K. *Henry* that he had seen, telling him, that it was to be feared that he might be displeased with the decision of the *Sorbonne*, and that it might do him more hurt than good, which Letter bearing date after the decision that I have printed, does not seem to agree with it. To this I answered, that all the other decisions of Universities being given simply in the King's favour, and that of the *Sorbonne* bearing only, that the Majority had declared for him, this left a blot upon the matter, since when the Opposition is inconsiderable, Decisions are given in the Name of the whole Body; but the mention of the Majority imported, that there was a great Opposition made, which, tho' it was not supported by a number equal to the

the other, yet was so considerable, as to lessen very much the Credit of the Decision. To this I added, that K. *Henry's* Printing this the year after it was given, and none ever accusing that piece of Forgery, Card. *Pool* on the contrary acknowledging that he was in *Paris* when it was obtained, these were undeniable Evidences of its Genuineness, to which he answered by a hearty acknowledgment, that he had seen another Letter, in which the detail of the whole Proceeding of the *Sorbonne* is set down; and, as I remember, there were but one or two more than the Majority, that opined on the Kings side; but the rest were in different Classes. Some suspended their Opinions, others, tho' they condemned the Mariage, yet did not think it could be broken, since it was once made: and some were positively of the Pope's side. In end, after some hours discourse, in which all the Company was fully satisfied with the Answers that I gave, he concluded, that as he had seen many more Letters relating to that matter than I had done, so if I thought fit, he would furnish me with a Volume of Authentic proofs for what I had already Printed. And these were the Letters of the *French Ambassadors*, that were in King *Henry* the 8th's Court, that are in the King's Library; but I did not stay long enough in *Paris* to procure this.

Now what those Letters of Cardinal *Bellays* are, upon which Mr. *Varillas* pretends to found his Relation, I cannot imagine. For as he came not to act in this matter till the last step of it; so his Letters cannot carry any long Series of
of

of this affair in them, and they must be far from giving those long excursions, into which Mr. *Varillas* always delights to wander. And, as I remember, I was particular told, that those Letters were in the King's Library, and so, since all that was there, agreed with my History, this must pass among those hardy Citations of Authors, that Mr. *Varillas* is apt to make, to give credit to his Inventions.

He flourishes a little to shew some small reading, but he is as unhappy in that, as in other things. He mentions *Cambden*, as having writ the History of that Revolution with some more moderation, than he is pleased to allow me; but he says, he does so constantly favour the *Calvinists*, in prejudice of those that he calls *Catholicks*, that one needs only read the first page, that turns up to him, in any part of his History, to be convinced of it. This is a very good proof that Mr. *Varillas* never opened any one page of *Cambden*; Since he does not write of that Revolution. For he begins his History with *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, and says no more of what went before her time, than what amounts to a very short hint of her Birth and Education, and a general Introduction into her Reign; and that History is writ with so much judgment and impartiality, that as it acquired the Author the friendship and esteem of that eminent Historian Mr. *du Thou*; so he after *Cambden's* Death published the second Vo-

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lume, from the Manuscript that the Author had sent him. If the discovery of a great many Rebellions and Conspiracies against the Person of that famous Queen is that, which disgusts Mr. *Varillas* at that History, it is because his Religion has so enslaved his Conscience, that he is so little concerned in Truth or Falsehood, as not to be able to endure one of the gravest Writers, that this Age has produced, because he could not avoid the Recital of those many Crimes, and some of the Men of Mr. *Varilla's* principles as to Religion were not afraid to commit. After this he mentions another of our Historians, whom he calls Dr. *Morton*, and to make his Reader know that he is acquainted with the History of his Life, he tells us he was afterwards a Bishop; but this is one of the Authors of his invention, for tho' we had a Doctor *Morton*, that was Bishop of *Durham*, and that died about 30 years ago; yet he writ no History. By the Character that Mr. *Varillas* gives this pretended Author, that he was more moderate than *Cambden*, I fancy he is mistaken in the Name, and that he would say Dr. *Heylin*, tho' this Name and *Morton* have no affinity; but *Heylin* was no Bishop: it is true Dr. *Heylin* has writ so moderately, that some have been severe upon him for it; but I will make no other Reflections on this, unless it be to shew the slightness of Mr. *Varillas's* way of writing, who it is likely had heard one talk at the
same

same time both concerning Dr. *Morton* and Dr. *Heylin*, and he in his assuming way, pretends upon this to give a Character of that History, putting the Name *Morton* for *Heylin*; but he never read a Word of Dr. *Heylin*, tho' in his daring way, he pretends to give his Character; and repents himself of the praise of Moderation that he had given in preference to *Cambden*, and sets it it out as an artifice, since whereas *Cambden* blames always the pretended Catholicks without any mitigations; *Morton* in blaming them counterfeits some pity for them, that is to say, he had some degrees of Mr. *Varillas's* Character of Religion. But Dr. *Heylin's* History being writ only in *English*, and it having never been Translated either into *Latin* or *French*, Mr. *Varillas* cannot give a Character of it from his own knowledge.

From our side he goes to the Writers of the *Roman* side, and begins with another essay of his exactness to his Principles of Religion. For he says, *Sanders* writ so violently, that it was no wonder if the Protestants carried their revenge so far, as to force him to die of hunger, in the Mountains of the North of *England*, to which he had retired. Here are only three Capital Errours: for 1. *Sanders's* Book, concerning the English Schism, was not published till after his Death, so that this could give no occasion for so severe a revenge. 2. *Sanders* did not die in the North of *England*,

but in *Ireland*. 3. *Sanders* was sent over by the Pope to raise and conduct a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which he had immediate powers from the Pope. He was so active, that he brought an Army together, which was defeated by the Queen's Forces: and upon that he fled into a Wood, where he was, some days after, found dead. So that having received no Wounds, it was believed he died of Hunger. This being the state of that affair, as it is related of all sides, is not Mr. *Varillas* a very creditable Author, who has the brow to report is as he does? For the Character that he gives of *Ribadeneira*, it is so embroiled, that I do not think it worth the while to examine it. It is enough to say that *Ribadeneira* is a Jesuit, that is to say, a Man true to Mr. *Varillas* his Character of Religion, and his History is nothing but *Sanders* dressed up in another Method: I speak of that which is in *Latin*, for the *Spanish*, I have never seen it. For *Lesley* he is generally a grave and wise Writer, but Mr. *Varillas* names him, because some body had told him, that one of such a name had writ of those matters, otherwise he had never cited him with relation to English Affairs, which he scarce ever mentions, but as they happened to be intermixt with the *Scotch*.

In conclusion, Mr. *Varillas* pretends to depend upon Cardinal *Bellay's* Letters, and so he thinks here is enough to settle, in the spirit of his Reader, a firm belief of all
that

that he intends to write ; but let him tell the World where they are to be found, since the Printed Volume contains nothing of the matters, that he pretends to cite from him. And since I have printed so many of the original Letters of that Time, and have told the Reader where they are to be found, I will expect the like from him, otherwise let him cite them as long as he will, I will take the liberty to tell him that I do not believe him. And I think that by this time I have given him sufficient Reasons for excusing my incredulity, in matters that he gives us upon his own word. Here is enough for a preliminary. But I am affraid I grow heavy to my Reader; and that by this time he is so fully satisfied concerning the Principles both of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, and his Morals, that he begins to lose Patience, when he sees how far I am like to crrry him in a more copious Discovery. But there are a sort of Men, that must be severely repressed : and there are some times in which even a Fool is to be answered according to his Folly. Yet I will so far manage my Reader, as not to overcharge him too much; therefore as to many of those Political digressions, that Mr. *Var.* makes upon the interest of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, I will pass them quite over, as the whipped Cream that he sets before his Reader. Some of them are not unpleasant, if they were proposed as Considerations, which might perhaps have had their Weight :

but his averring them confidently is not to be excused, they might pass in a kind of a Book of Politicks as a refining upon the Actions of Princes; but this way of writing is by no means to be allowed in History, since it is without any sort of Evidence, and History ought to relate things as we find they really were designed, and transacted; and not as we imagine they ought or might have been. I am now entering upon a Subject, in which it will be much more easy for me to say too much, than too little: for Mr. *Varillas* commits so many Errours, that tho' I am resolved to let lesser matters pass unregarded, yet I find so many in my way, which require a Discovery, that I am engaged in a Task as ingrateful to myself, as it must be severe upon him.

P. 226. „ 1. He begins with an assurance,
 „ that all the rest of *Wiclif's* Here-
 „ sy were so entirely rooted out of
 „ *England*, that the whole Nation, without
 „ excepting one single Person, was of the same
 „ Religion during the Reign of *Henry* the 7th.

I am not now near the Records of that time, but in my History I have shewed by the Records of K. *Henry* the 8th's Reign, that in the year 1511, which was but two years after *Henry* the 7th's Death, there remain yet in the Registers of the See of *Canterbury* the Proceses of 41 Persons, of whom 7 were condemned for Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the rest had the weakness to abjure; and from this hint one must conclude,
 that

that Mr. *Varillas* had no knowledge of our Affairs ; but he thought the Period was rounder, and the Air of Writing was more assuming, when he asserted that the whole Nation, without excepting one single Person, was of the same Religion. The Opinions objected to those Persons, shew, that the Reformation found a disposition in the Nation, to receive it by the Doctrines, which were entertained by many in it: For the chief of them are, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not Christ's Body, but material Bread: That Images ought not to be Worshipped: That Pilgrimages were neither necessary nor profitable: and that we ought not to address our Prayers to Saints, but only to God.

But since this may be thought only a Flourish of Mr. *Varillas's* Pen, I go to other matters, in which it cannot be denied that a greater exactness was necessary.

„ 2. He lays down for a foundation to all that was to come after, P. 228. that P. *Arthur* was very unhealthy, when he was Married. That he was recovering out of a great Disease, of which he died 5 Months after. It is true, he does acknowledge, that three Words in the Bull, that was granted for the subsequent Marriage, seem to import, that this Marriage was consummated: yet he takes the Word of the other Historians, and repeats this of P. *Arthur's* ill Health so often, that he hoped, it seems, by that

„ means to make his Reader swallow it
„ down easily.

Here he had writ a little more artificially, if he had set over against this, on the Margent some Citation of a Letter, or Recital, which would have cost him nothing, and have been full as true, as his other Citations are. Many Witnesses that were examined upon Oath, deposed before the Legates, when this matter was examined, that P. *Arthur* was of a good Complexion, vigorous and robust, when he was married; that he bedded with his Princess every night: and the Decay of which he died, was ascribed to his too early Marriage. And of this Mr. *Varillas* takes some notice, without reflecting on the consequence, that the Reader might naturally draw from it; for he says, K. p. 240. *Henry* the 7th. delay'd the marrying of his second Son 6 years after he had obtained the Bull, and that the death of his eldest Son made him apprehend the loss of his second Son, if he married him so young, and tho' he interweaves a Politick reflection, according to his way, that is to say impertinently, and says, if this fear was not altogether just; yet since K. *Henry* the 7th had no other Son, it was not altogether unreasonable. But it is obvious that this is altogether impertinent, if P. *Arthur's* Marriage went no further than a publick Ceremony. But there are other Circumstances that overthrow this; as much as a thing that is of its nature secret, is capable of being disproved. it is said by
our

our Historians, who writ at that time, that the Spanish Ambassadour took Proofs of the consummation of the Marriage. And in the Bull of Dispensation, for the subsequent Marriage, this was also supposed as a thing that was perhaps done. But tho' our Author set on the Margin the precise Words, in which he says that was conceived; yet either he never read the Bull, and so took this upon trust, or he was in a fit of his Religion, which was so violent, that it made him not only take no care of what he said, whether it was true or false; but made him advance a deliberate falsehood. For whereas in the Preamble of the Bull of Dispensation for the younger Brother, it is set forth, that *P. Arthur* and the Princess had been lawfully Married, and had perhaps consummated their Marriage, vvhhere the matter of Fact is set dovvn in a dubious manner, he makes that the Dispensation had allowed their Marriage, even tho' the former had been consummated. And as the Words that he cites are not the Words of the Bull, so they give a different Notion of the matter; since as he gives the Words, they seem only to be a Clause put in, to make the Bull more unquestionable; vvhhereas in truth they are apart of the matter of Fact represented to the Pope. And tho' this doubtful way of representing this matter of Fact, that is in the Bull, was all that could be decently said upon this case, yet it seems the

P. 239.
Illudque
carnalico-
pula forsan
consum-
mavissetis
Etiam si
Matrimo-
nium fue-
rit per car-
nalem co-
pulam con-
summatum

Spaniards, vvho knew the Marriage vvvas consummated, resolved to set the matter past dispute, for they either procured at that time a Breve, of the same date vvith the Bull, or they forged one aftervvards, in vvwhich in the Preamble this matter is asserted, vvithout any *perhaps*, or other limiting Word, it being positively set forth, that the Marriage vvvas consummated. If Mr. *Varillas's* Religion sets him at liberty from the Scrupulosity of vvriting truth, yet that profound Policy to vvwhich he alvvays pretends, should oblige him to take a little care, that the falsehoods that he advances, may not be easily discovered.

30. „ He says, *Henry* the 8th. vvvas
 P. 232. „ 12. year old, vvhen his Brother died;
 „ ed; and that his Father had designed
 „ ed him for the Ecclesiastical State.

This vvvas taken up by the Writers of the last Age, to make the Parallel between *Julian* the Emperour and him seem to agree: that as *Julian* had been a Reader in the Church; so King *Henry* should be represented as an *Abbot* with a little band. But as King *Henry* was not 12. year old, vvhen his Brother died, for he vvanted some Months of 11: and as at that Age young Princes, considering the respect that is vvayed to them in their Education, have seldom been found far advanced in Learning; so it does not appear, that he had then any other Education different from vvhat was given to his Brother, vvho understood Latin, and some of the beginnings of Learning. Learning was then

then in great Reputation, and King Henry the 7th. engaged his Children to study, either to raise their Authority the higher by that means, or perhaps to amuse them with Learning, that they might not think of pretending to the Crown during his Life, since the undoubted Title to it resting in the Person of their Mother, it had devolved upon them by her Death, tho' they did not think fit to claim their Right.

„ 4. He says, that when King Henry the 7th. intended to Marry his younger Son to P. Arthur's Widdow, the Privy Council of England approved it the more easily, because of the precaution that had been taken to hinder the consummation of the former Marriage: and to confirm this, he cites on the Margent the Petition, that the Parliament of England offered to P. Alexander the 6th.

But as the Depositions are yet extant of the Duke of Norfolk, that was then a Privy Counsellour, and of two others, that there was no precaution used to hinder the Consummation; so Warham, that was at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, opposed the second Marriage, as being neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, as he himself did afterwards depose upon Oath. The Parliament took no Cognisance of the matter, nor did it make any Address to the Pope; so that this Citation is to be considered as an Effect of Mr. Varillas his notion of Religion.

„ 5. He runs out, in his manner, into a long Speculation concerning the different interests of England and Spain,

„ *Spain*, that made the *Spaniards* go backwards
 „ and forwards, in the agreeing to the Match,
 „ that proposed for *P. Henry* and the Princess;
 „ whom by an extravagant affectation he calls
 „ always Duke of *York*: and makes the Prin-
 „ cess's Parents represent to King *Henry* the 7th,
 „ the danger of his Son's growing weary of the
 „ Princess, since he was four year younger than
 „ she was, and that in order to the procuring of a
 „ dissolution of the Marriage from the Court of a
 „ *Rome*, he might pretend that his Father had
 „ forced him to Marry her, whenever he should
 „ grow weary of her.

All the other Writers of that time put King
Henry the 7th's desiring this second Marriage
 meerly on his covetousness, which made him e-
 qually unwilling to repay the Portion, or to
 send a great Joynture yearly after the Princess:
 and the Prince of *Wales* was too great a Match
 to be so uneasily admitted by the King and
 Queen of *Spain*. He whom he calls by the Ti-
 tle of the Duke of *York*, was indeed only Duke
 of *York*, for some Months after his Brother's
 Death, during which time it was supposed, that
 the Princess might be with Child by his Bro-
 ther; which proves beyond exception, that it
 was believed, that the first Marriage was con-
 summated. But when there was no more rea-
 son to apprehend that, then he carried the Title,
 that belongs to the Heir apparent of our Crown.
 But it seems the King and Queen of *Spain* were
 more easily satisfied in this matter, than Mr.
Varillas would make us believe they were: for
 two

two years after the Bull granted, when P. Henry came to be of Age, he instead of entring into any engagement to Marry the Princess, made a solemn Protestation in the hands of the Bishop of *Winchester*, by which he recalled the Consent that he had given during his Minority, and declared that he would never Marry her. But it is very likely Mr. *Varillas* had never heard of this, tho' the instrument of that Protestation was not only mentioned, but Printed by many of the Writers of that Age: and it is confessed by *Sanders* himself, who, after all Mr. *Varillas's* flourish with his Letters, is his only Author. And for this foresight, that he thinks he may justly ascribe to the King and Queen of *Spain*, because they are represented by the Writers of that time, to have had an extraordinary Sagacity, the reason that he makes them give, shews it was a contrivance of his own: since a mortal force, such as the Authority of a Father was never so much as pretended to be a just ground to annul a Marriage after it was made and consummated; otherwise most of the Marriages that have been made, might have been dissolved.

6. "He adds to this another speculation, that is worthy of him, he P. 236.
 "pretends that the King and Queen
 "of *Spain* apprehended, that had acquired
 "the Crown of *England*, and by consequence
 "had a right to dispose of it at his pleasure;
 "upon which the Crown of *Spain* was afraid,
 "least he should have disinherited his Son and
 "given

“given the Crown to the Duke of *Suffolk*,
 “that was then at *Brussels*, and was preparing
 “an Invasion of *England*, from which they did
 “not know, but King *Henry* the 7th, might
 “save himself, by declaring *Suffolk* his Suc-
 “cessour, and that upon those fears they were
 “unwilling to consent to the Match.

Here is such a mixture of Follies, that it is not easy to tell which of them is the most remarkable. This Doctrine of the Crown of *England*'s being alienable at the King's pleasure, might have passed well with those, that some years ago thought to have shut out the next Heir, and yet even these did not pretend that it could have been done by the King alone. But here is a new Theory of Politicks, for which we are sure Mr. *Varillas* can cite no Authorities from the Laws and Constitutions of *England*. King *Henry* the 7th had indeed acquired the Crown, by defeating that Tyrant and Usurper *Richard* the 3d: but as he pretended to be Heir of the *Lancastrian* Race himself, so by Marrying to the Heir of the House of *York*, that was the right Heir, he by a conjunction of all Titles, made the matter sure. But this gave him no right to alienate the Crown at his pleasure, and to fancy, that a King may be induced to give away his Crown from his own Son, to the Person in the World that he hated most, and whom at his Death he ordered his Son never to forgive; who, by the way, was not Duke but only Earl of *Suffolk*, is Dream better becoming so sleight a brain

brain as is that Mr. *Varillas*, than the consummated wisdom of the King and Queen of *Spain*. But thus it falls out vvhhen a Library Keeper turns States-man; and when from being a teller of Tales, he vvill turn Writer of Histories, which he composes out of his own Imaginations, he must needs fall into childish errours. When do Kings fall under those weakneses, as to disinherit an only Son, to cover them from a remote fear: and a very remote one it was; for the Archduke needed at that time the assistance of *England* against *France* too much, to be in a condition to raise a Civil War in *England*, and to support a competition to the Crown, which could have no other effect, as to him, but to give *France* an opportunity, during the distractions of *England*, to come and destroy him. In short here is a Vision of a poor-spirited Pedant, which is too much considered, when it is named and laught at.

7. "He pretends to enter into the P. 237.
" reasons that were alledged at *Rome*,
" both for and against granting of the Bull;
" but at last he concludes, that Pope *Alex-*
" *ander* the 6th would not consent to it; that
" he might not give occasion to accuse him, of
" having broken the Discipline of the Church.

But here is such a false representation of the Court of *Rome* at that time, and in particular of P. *Alexander* the 6th, that since Mr. *Varillas* will needs write Romances, I must put him in mind of one Rule; that as Painters shew their Judgment and Learning, in that which

which is in one Word called *le Custome*, observing their Air, Manners, and Habits of the Ages and Scenes to which their Pieces belong; so Poets, when they bring unknown Names into their Plays, they may cloath them with what Characters they please; but if they represent Men, whose Histories are known, they must not confound Characters, nor represent a *Nero* as a grave Philosopher, or as a good natur'd Prince; nor a *Marcus Aurelius* as a wanton Stage-Player, or as a bloody Tyrant. And therefore, tho' Mr. *Varillas* may shew his pretended discoveries, concerning Men that are less known, yet when he brings in an *Alexander* the 6th on the Stage, it is to bold a violation of Poetry, to lay a strictness of Conscience, or a sence of Honour to his charge: and tho' there is one part of this Period true, that there had never been any dispensation of this sort formerly granted, to serve as a Precedent for it: yet that exactness, in which he represents the Enquiry, that the Divines of *Rome* made concerning this matter, agrees ill with the State of the Court of *Rome* at that time; and a Painter may as justly represent the old *Romans* in Pantaloon and with Hats in their hands.

8. " He says, *K. Henry* the 7th
 p. 240. " was preparing all things for the Mar-
 p. 241. " riage of his Son, to the Princess
 " when he died. And a little before,
 " that he had said, that her Parents sacrificed the
 " Interest of their Family to the satisfaction of
 " the King of *England*, by consenting to it.

A Match with the Heir of the Crown of
 Englan d

England, was no very costly Sacrifice: and for his vision concerning the design of Marrying her to the Duke of *Calabria*, and by that means of restoring the Kingdom of *Naples*, it does so ill agree with the Character of the King of *Arragon*, that since there is no proof brought of this, I must look on it as one of those Imaginations, with which Mr. *Varillas* loves to entertain his Readers. But for K. *Henry* the 7th, he was so far from making any preparations for the Marriage, that one Morison of the Writers of that Age assures us, that

his Death he charged his Son to break it, apprehending perhaps a return of a new civil War, upon the issue of a doubtful Marriage

„ He gives us a new taste of his unskillfulness in ordering his Scenes. He had found
 „ that when *Henry* the 8th's Divorce came to
 „ be started, there was some discourse of a
 „ Match between him and *Francis* the first's
 „ Sister, afterwards the Queen of *Navarre*,
 „ and therefore he thought a proposition for
 „ her, might come in before the Marriage, as
 „ a pretty ornament to his Fable.

But the silence of all the Papers of that Time, which I have seen, is a much better evidence against it, than his pretended negotiation of Mr. *de Piennes* is for it, to which no credit is due. It is well known that in the Archives of *Venice* there are Recitals laid up of all the Negotiations of their Ambassadors, and Mr. *Varillas* having perhaps heard of this, he fancied it would have a good grace, to
 cite

cite such Recitals as to French Affairs, tho' all that know the State of *France*, know, that this has not been the practice of that Court. But as there is no proof to shew that there was any such Proposition made at that Time, so the State of *K. Lewis* the 12th's Court differs extremly from it, in which the Count of *Angonleme*, afterwards *Francis* the first, and his Sister, were not so favourable, as to give us reason to think that pains was taken to raise that Lady to the Throne of *England*.

10. "He tells us, that King *Henry* the 8th
 "calling a Parliament in the beginning of his
 "Reign, they thought themselves bound in
 "point of Honour, to oblige to execute his
 "Father's Orders, relating to his Marriage;
 "who had not only made it the chief Article
 "of his Testament, and charged his Son to
 "do it upon his last Blessing; but had laid the
 "same charge on the Men of the greatest Credit
 "in *England*, as he spoke his last Words to them:
 "upon which the Parliament being careful to
 "maintain this Authority, to which they pretended
 "over their Master, did oblige him, by repeated Remonstrances to Marry the Princess.

Here he goes to show how implacably he is set against the Crown of *England*: formerly he had debased their Birth, but he thought that was not enough; now he will degrade them of their Dignity, and give the Parliament a Superiority over them. But is is a fatal thing for an ignorant Man to write History: for if Mr. *Varillas* could have so much as opened our Book of Statutes, he would have

have found, that the first Parliament, that K. Henry the 8th held, was assembled the 21. of January 1510. almost eight Months after the Marriage, which was celebrated six Weeks after he came to the Crown, in which time; if Mr. *Varillas* had understood any thing of our Constitutions, he would have known, that it was impossible for a Parliament to have met, since there must be 40. Days between a Summons and a Meeting of Parliament; so that if the new King had summoned one, the Day after his Father's Death, it could not have met sooner, than the day before the Marriage.

11. "He says, the Queen bore five Ibid.
 "Children, the first three, Sons, and
 "the other two, Girls; but the eldest Son
 "lived only 9 Months, and the other two
 "Sons, and the eldest Girl, died immediately
 "after they were born, only the youngest,
 "that was born the 8 of February 1515. was
 "longer lived.

Mr. *Varillas* has a peculiar Talent of committing more Errours in one single Period, than any Writer of the Age: and here he has given a good essay of his art; for the Queen bore only three Children, the first was Son, born the 1 January, that died the 22 of February thereafter, which was not two full Months, much less 9 Months: the second Son died not immediately, but about a Fortnight after he was born: and the Daughter, afterwards Q. Mary, was born the 9th of February 1516. So
 the

tho' by chance he hath hit the Month right, yet he is mistaken, both as to the Year, and the Day of the Month. So unadvised a thing it is for an ignorant Writer, to deliver matters of fact so particularly: for this may deceive others, that are as ignorant as himself, by an appearance of exactness; yet it lays him too open to those, that can find the leisure and the patience to expose him: and the last is no easy matter.

12. "He runs out into a very copious account of *K. Henry's Disorders*, and dresses up *Q. Katharine's Devotions* in a very sublime strain.

It does not appear, that in all that
p. 246. time he had any other Mistress, but *Elizabeth Blunt*: and during all that while, he had the highest Panegyriques made him by all the Clergy of *Europe*, upon his Zeal for Religion and Piety; possible so, that if we did not live in an Age, in which Flattery has broke loose from all the restraints of Decency, they would appear very extravagant Commendations; and if the sublimities of Flattery were not rather a just prejudice against a Prince, which give a character of a swelling Ambition, and an imperious Tyranny, that must be courted by such abject methods, so that it is hard, whether we ought to think worse of the Flatterers, or the Flattered, we would be tempted to judge very advantageously of *K. Henry the Eighth*, by the
Dedications,

Dedications, and other other fawning Ad-
dresses that were made him. As for *Queen*
Katherine, it does appear, that she was indeed
a vertuous and devout Woman: but *Mr. Va-*
rillas being more accustomed to Legends, than
to true Histories, could not set out this, with-
out a considerable addition of his own: for
the half of it is not mentioned by any Au-
thor, that ever I saw, nor by any quoted but by
himself: but a Poet must adorn his matter
and if he has not Judgment, he overdoes
it.

„ 13. He says, the King designed
„ to marry his natural Son the p. 248.
„ Duke of *Richmont*, to his Daugh-
„ ter *Mary*, upon which he makes that
„ long digression, concerning the Names of
„ the Race of *Tudors*, that was forme-
„ rly considered.

When a Man affirms a thing, that is so
notoriously injurious to the Memory of a
Prince, he ought at least to give some sort
of Proof of its Truth: for tho' in the ac-
cesses of *Mr. Varillas's* Religious Fits, he
does not think fit to trouble himself with
those inconsiderable matters of Truth and
Falseness; yet all the World is not of
his Mind, and some colours of Truth are
at least looked for. It is true, a Negative
is not easily proved, so a bold affirmer fan-
cies, he has some advantages; but in this
Case it is quite otherwise; for the whole se-
ries of the Original Instructions, Messages,
and Letters, that passed between *Rome* and
England

England, in that matter, are still extant, in all which there is not the least tittle, relating to this Proposition. And there are some things of such indecency, that nothing but a Temper like Mr. *Varillas's* can bring them together. For when K. *Henry* was pretending a scruple of Conscience, at his own marrying his Brother's Wife, it is very improbable, that he would have asked a Dispensation for a Marriage in a much nearer Degree. For *Sanders*, that is, Mr. *Varillas's* Author says, that both Propositions were made at the same time. There were many Libels Printed against K. *Henry*, about that time, but the strongest and best Writ, was that of Cardinal *Pools*, in which it is visible, that he spares nothing that he could alledg with any colour of Truth; yet he says nothing of this matter, tho' it had more weight in it to discover the King's Hypocrisy, in pretending to scruples of Conscience, than all the other things he alledges: and I never could find any other Author for this Story, before *Sanders*, whose Book was Printed 60 years after.

P. 250. „ 14. He gives another Essay
 „ of his Skill in History, and that
 „ he is equally ignorant of the
 „ Histories of all Kingdoms, when he re-
 „ presents to us the endeavours of the King
 „ of *Scotland*, for the obtaining of a Marri-
 „ age with the Princess *Mary*, in favours of
 „ his Son, upon whose Person he bestows
 „ of a kind dash of his Pen, and he en-
 „ ters

ters into a Speculation of the danger of that King *Henry* apprehended from this Proposition; and that if he had rejected it, the King and Prince of *Scotland* might have addressed themselves for it to the Parliament, and that the Parliament would have raised a general Rebellion, rather than have suffered King *Henry* to reject it.

The dislike that Mr. *Varillas* has conceived against the Crown of *England*, seems deeply rooted in him; for it returns very often. Here he represents foreign Princes complaining to Parliaments, when the Kings do not accept of Propositions for their Children; as if our Princes were less at liberty in the disposal of their Children, than the meanest of their Subjects are: but he knows our Constitution as little as he does the History of *Scotland*, otherwise he could not have represented the King of *Scotland*, as pretending to the Mariage of the Princess, *Mary* for his Son; since King *James* the fourth, that had Married King *Henry's* Sister was killed at the Battle of *Floddum* the 2d, of *September* 1513, above three Years before the Princess was born, he left an Infant Son, between whom and the Princess, a Treaty of a Marriage was once proposed, but no progress was made in it, for K. *Henry* neglected it. And he had always his Parliaments so subject to him, to apprehend any of those vain Schemes, with which Mr. *Varillas* would possess his Reader. There are many

many that make no great Progress in History, but yet know somewhat of the Deaths of Kings, and that carry some small measure of Chronology in their Head. Yet since Mr. *Varillas* has not yet got so far, he had best buy some common Chronological Tables, and have them always before him, when he writes; and this will at least preserve him from such Childish Errours.

„ 15. He tells us, that there were
 P. 251. „ many Pretenders to the young Prin-
 „ cefs, and to make a full Period, he
 „ tells us, that all the Sovereigns of *Europe* court-
 „ ed her, both the Emperour, the Kings of
 „ *France, Spain, and Scotland*, and so he gives us
 „ a fantastical Speculation of King *Henry's* ba-
 „ lancing those Propositions one against ano-
 „ ther.

But since for a round Period's sake he will needs split *Charles* the 5th. in two, and name both the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two Pretenders, he might as well have subdivided him into the King of *Arragon* and *Castile, Sicily* and *Naples*, and the very Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, might have come in for its share.

„ 16. He tells us, that tho' the
 P. 252. „ Match of *Scotland* was the most for
 „ the Interest of the Nation; yet King
 „ *Henry* was so angry with his Nephew the King
 „ of *Scotland*, for taking part against him, in his
 „ last War with *France*, that he resolved never
 „ to give him his Daughter.

Here

Here Mr. *Varillas* will see again the necessity of purchasing a Chronological Table, for tho' that will cost him some Money, which as I am told, goes very near his heart ; yet it will preserve him from some scurvy Errours, they may spoil the Sale of his Books : for any one of those Tables, even the worst and cheapest, would have shewed him, that it was not his Nephew that took part with *France* against him ; but his Nephew's Father : for King *James* the 4th, that vvas King *Henry's* Brother-in-law, made War on that occasion, and was killed in it, leaving an Infant Son behind him ; but it is pleasant to see the Ignorance of this Scribler, that makes in one place King *James* the 4th. to Court the Princess for his Son, tho' he died several years before she was born, and then makes King *James* the fifth to be making War with his Uncle during his Father's life, and while himself was an Infant.

„ 17. He says, the Emperour came,
„ and pretended the second to the Prin- Ibid.
„ cess, and upon that he sets down a
„ large Negotiation, that he had vvith Cardinal
„ *Wolfey*.

But he shewvs here an Ignorance of *Charles* the 5th's Life, tho' he pretends to have made more than ordinary Discoveries concerning his Affairs, that proves, that he has studied all History alike ill. He reckons up the Series of the Propositions for the Princess quite vvrong ; for she vvas first contracted to the Dolphin the ninth of November 1518, by a Treaty yet extant, then

Charles the 5th. came into *England* in Person, and contracted a Marriage vvith her at *Wind-
sor* the 22. of *June* 1522; after that there vvvas
a Proposition made for the King of *Scotland*,
that vvvas soon let fall; and last of all there vvvas
a Treaty set on Foot, for the King of *France*
then a Widdovver, or for his second Son the
Duke of *Orleans*, it being left to *Francis's* option
to determine that: and so remarkable a passage,
as *Charles* the 5th's coming to *England* in Per-
son, vvvas unhappily unknowvn to Mr. *Varillas*;
othervvise he vvould have dressed up a mighty
Scene of Politicks to adorn it.

„ 18. He gives us the Character
Ibid. „ and the History of Cardinal *Wolsey*,
„ vvith his ordinary Colours, in vvch
„ truth comes very seldom in for an ingredient,
„ he tells us, hovv he vvvas Bishop of *Tournay*,
„ or rather Oeconomy of that See, and hovv many
„ Journeys he made betvvveen *Tournay* and *Lon-
don*; and that being enriched at *Tournay*; he
„ got the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, after that, up-
„ on the Bishop of *Winchester's* death, he had that
„ See, from that he vvvas raised to be Archbishop
„ of *York*; then he vvvas made Chancellour of
„ *England*, then Cardinal and Legat à *Latere*, and
„ last of all, he vvvas made Chief Minister of
„ State; and to shevv our Author's deep Judg-
„ ment, this last Article seemed so doubtful a
„ Point to him, that he must needs bestovv a
„ Proof on it, and he sends us to P. *Leo* the 10th's
„ Register, tho' the advancements that he had
„ already reckoned up, may vvell make this pass
„ vvithout

„vvithout a more particular Proof; nor is P.
„Leo's Register a place likely to find it in.

Here is a great deal to let his Reader see, howv intirely he vvas possessed vvith the History of that time; since he could run out so far vvith the Character and History of that Minister; but for the strain, in vvwhich he sets out his Character, one must see, it is only Mr. *Varillas's* fancy: for howv came he to knowv Cardinal *Wolfey's* Air and manner of Department, even in the smallest thing. I that have seen much more of him in his Letters Dispatches and Instructions than Mr. *Varillas* can pretend to have done, dare not go so far, because I have not arrived at Mr. *Varillas* his pitch of Religion; but if his Character is no truer than the History that he gives of *Wolfey*, I knowv vvhat name is due to it. He vvas made Bishop of *Tournay* in October, and Bishop of *Lincoln* in the March thereafter, or rather in February, for the Temporalty vvas given him the 4th. of March, vvwhich is alvvays restored after the Consecration, so that here vvas not time enough to make such Journeys betveen *Tournay* and *London*, nor to enrich himself vvith the former: he had *Winchester* but fifteen years after that; but he vvas made Archbishop of *York* tvvo years after he had *Lincoln*; he vvas also made Cardinal and Legate, before he vvas made Chancellour; for *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* vvas Chancellour vvwhile he vvas Legate, and had some Disputes vvith him, touching his Legative povver; upon vvwhich he obtained that Dignity, for putting an

end to all disputes ; and instead of his being last of all Minister of State, he was first of all Minister of State, while he was only the Lord *Almoner*, and all his other Dignities came upon him, as the natural effects of that Confidence and favour into which the King had received him.

19. "He cannot assent to some
 Ibid. "Hilitorians, that imagine he was the
 "Confident of King *Henry's* Pleasures,
 "since he thinks if that had been true, he could
 "not have been so cheated afterwards, as he
 "was.

Here is a Demonstration that he never read my History, into which I have put, besides other Evidences of his being on the secret of *Anne Boleyn's* matter, two Letrers, that she writ to him, which are undeniable proofs of it. But as for the long Story into which he runs out, concerning *Charles* the Fifth's Intrigues with him, and his way of writing to him, in the stile of Son and Cousin, for which he cites on the Margent the Emperours Letters to *Wolfey*, that lie in his fancy, that is the greatest Library in the World, but the hardest to be come at, all this is so loosely writ, that it is plain Mr. *Varillas* had no light to direct him in it, since he says not a word of the most important circumstance of it, which was the Emperour's coming in Person to *England*, which was believed to have been done chiefly to gain *Wolfey* entirely, and in which it is certain, that

that he had all the success that he had wished for.

20. " He says, *Wolsey* being alienated from the Emperour, engaged the King of *France*, after he was set at liberty, to treat for a Match between the Dauphin and the Princess of *England*, upon which they were contracted with great Magnificency ; but that was not enough, for the Cardinals's malice. P. 251.

I have formerly shewed, that the proposition of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess was in the year 1518, long before *Francis* the Firsts Imprisonment; but the Treaty set on foot after his Liberty, was either for himself, or his second Son, and this sort of a Treaty being somewhat extraordinary where the alternative lay between the Father and the Son for the same Lady, Mr. *Varillas* shews his great ignorance of the Affairs of that Time, since he says nothing of it ; for this would have given him occasion enough to have entertained his Reader with many Visions and Speculations.

21. " He says, that *Wolsey* dealt with *Longland* the King's Confessour, to possess him with scruples concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage, that *Longland* refused to do it, but engaged *Wolsey* to begin, and he promised to fortify the scruples, that the Cardinal should infuse into the King's mind. Upon which the Cardinal did open the matter to the King, C 3 "and

“and the King being shaken by his Propo-
 “tion, laid the matter before his Confessour,
 “who seconded the Cardinal.

In this he has taken the liberty to depart from *Sanders*, tho’ he is the Author whom he generally copies; but it is easy to pretend to tell secrets, but not easy to prove them. The King himself did afterwards in publick not only deny this, but affirmed that *Wolsey* had opposed his scruples all he could, and that he himself had opened them in Confession to *Longland*, and the King himself said to *Grineus*, that he was disquieted with those scruples ever from the year 1529, which was three years before the matter was made publick.

22. “He says, the King upon
 p. 259. “that Consulted the Divines of Eng-
 “land concerning the validity of the
 “Marriage, and that all those that
 “were Men of probity and disinterested,
 “answered in the affirmative; but some
 “that did aspire, or that were corrupted,
 “thought it doubtful, others, who were very
 “few in number, affirmed it was unlaw-
 “ful.

This is so false, that all the Bishops of Eng-
land, *Fisher* only excepted, declared under their
 Hands and Seals, that they thought the Mar-
 riage unlawful.

23. “He gives a Character of *Anne*
 p. 260. “*Boleyn*, in which he takes up the com-
 “mon Reports of her ill shape, her yellow co-
 “lour, her gag tooth, her Lump under her Chin,
 “and

“ and her hand with six fingers: but because all
 “ this agrees ill to the Mistress of a King, he,
 “ to soften that, adds a long Character of her
 “ Wit, her Air and Humour, in which he lays
 “ her charms, and here takes all the licences
 “ of a Poet, as well as of a Painter.

But as several of her Pictures, yet extant,
 shew the folly of those Stories, concerning her
 Deformity, so the other particulars of this Picture
 are for the most part fetcht out of that Repo-
 sitory of false History, that lies in Mr. *Varillas's*
 Imagination.

24. “ He says, the English Histo-
 “ rians, and some other Catholicks, *ibid.*
 “ agree to those things, and for his
 “ Vouchers he cites on the Mar-
 “ gent *Sanders*, *Rebadeniera* and *Remon*; but
 “ they add many other particulars, tho’ they
 “ differ concerning them, and tho’ he will not
 “ affirm them to be true; yet he thinks it
 “ worth the while to set them down. They say
 “ that *Anne Boleyn's* true Father was not known:
 “ that she was born in *England*, while he was
 “ Ambassadour in *France*: that *Henry* the 8th,
 “ being in love with the Mother, had sent away
 “ her Husband, that so he might satisfy his Ap-
 “ petites more freely, but that he soon quit-
 “ ted the Mother for her eldest Daughter
 “ *Mary*: that *Sr. Thomas Boleyn* at his return to
 “ *England*, finding his Wife with Child, be-
 “ gun a Sute against her, but that the King
 “ forced him to be reconciled to his Wife, and
 “ to own the Child that she bore some time af-

“ter, who was *Anne Boleyn*: that this Daugh-
 “ter at the Age of 15, was dishonoured by
 “two of her Father’s Domesticks, upon which
 “she was sent to *France*, where she was so com-
 “mon a Prostitute, that she went by the Name
 “of the English Hackney: that she was a
 “common subject of Raillery: that she became
 “a *Lutheran*, tho’ she made still profession of
 “the other Religion. He says, others make
 “her pass for a Heroine, that cannot be e-
 “nough commended, yet he acknowledges
 “there are not Authentical Evidences left, to
 “discover their imposture.

Here is a vvay of vvriting, that agrees vvell
 with *Mr. Varillas’s* other Qualities: he vvwas
 here in a cold fit, and so his Religion did not o-
 perate so strong as to disengage him quite from
 all regard to Truth, only it produces one start,
 that is sufficiently extravagant, for he accuses all
 that is said in favour of *Anne Boleyn* of imposture,
 tho’ at the same time he acknowledges, that there
 are not Authentick Evidences to disprove it; but
 hovv then came he to knowv that those com-
 mendations were Impostures? He answers,
 that in the beginning of this Paragraph, and
 cites in general the Historians of *England* and
 other Catholick Writers: for the Historians of
England he gives us *Sanders* alone, tho’ he can
 hardly make a plural out of him, unless he
 splits him into three or four subdivisions, as he
 had done *Charles* the 5th, when he reckoned
 up the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two
 of

of the Pretenders to the Princess Mary. But tho' I have in my History demonstrated the falsehood of all this Legend so evidently that I had perhaps wearied my Reader, by proving that too copiously, yet since I see that nature can croud so much impudence in Mr. Varillas alone, as might serve even the whole Order of the Jesuites, and that he is resolved to keep up the credit of the blackest falsehoods, as the Church of Rome preserves still in her Breviary a great many Lessons with Prayers and Anthems, relating to them, that are now by the consent of Learned Men exploded as Fables, I must again lay open this matter, tho' I thought I had so fully confuted those Lies, that even a Pension could not have engaged a Man to support them any more.

It may seem enough to an impartial Mind; that Sanders was the first, that ever published those Stories, above 50 years after Anne Boleyn's Death: that tho' Cardinal Pool, and the other Writers of that Time, had left nothing unsaid, that could blacken King Henry; yet none of them had brow enough to assert Sander's Fictions: and that after Anne Boleyn's Tragical Fall, when her Misfortunes had made it a fashionable thing to blacken her, yet these impostures were reserved for Sanders, and for an Age, in which he and many others of his Church were setting on many Rebellions and Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth, they were so powerfully acted by Mr. Varillas's Spirit of Religion, tho' they had not the folly to own

it, as he has done, as to give themselves the Liberty to say the foulest things against the Mother, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire, whether they were true or false: and the things here advanced are of such a nature, that either they must be evidently true, or they are notoriously false; for an Embassy into *France* of such a continuance, a Sute moved upon *Sr. Thomas Boyleyn's* return, were publick matters, and must have lien open to a discovery. The whole Recital is impossible, as it is told; for if she was born after *Sr. Thomas Boleyn* return'd from an Embassy, to which King *Henry* had sent him, that he might enjoy his Wife, and in which he staid two years, as *Sanders* says; then since King *Henry* came to the Crown in the year 1509, she must be born in the year 1511, and then the 15th. year of her Age will fall in the year 1526, and it being certain that the King began to Court her in the year 1527, here is not time enough for her Leudness and her long stay in *France*. But it is certain that she was born in the year 1507, two years before King *Henry* came to the Crown, and when he was but fourteen years old, and that at seven years old she went over to *France* with King *Henry's* Sister, when she was Married to *Lewis* the 12th; and tho' upon that King's Death the Queen Dowager of *France* came soon after back into *England*, yet *Anne Boleyn* staid still in *France*, and was in the Service of *Claud Francis's* the first's Queen, and after her Death the King's Sister, the Dutches of *Alencon* took her into her service and these

these two Princeesses were so celebrated for their Vertue, that this alone is enough to shew, that she was then under no infamy, since she was of their Family. She was also Maid of Honour to our Queen *Katherine*, who, even by Mr. *Varillas's* Character, was of too severe a Vertue to admit a common Prostitute to that degree of honour. So that here is more than enough to discredit all those Calumnies.

„ 25. He says, tho' there is not Evidence enough in the former reports p. 261.
 „ yet there is a certain Proof for K.
 „ *Henry's* disorders with the Elder of the
 „ two Sisters, *Mary Boleyn*, since in the demand, that K. *Henry* made for a Permission to Marry *Anne*, he confessed his disorders with her Sister, and offered to do Penance for them: and to vouch for this, he cites King *Henry's* Petition to P. *Clement* the 7th.

Here Mr. *Varillas* shews, how little he understands the advantages that he has, to maintain his Assertions, since there is an Authority for this last, that has more appearance of Truth in it, than all his other Citations put together, tho' his Ignorance made him incapable of finding it out. For Cardinal *Pool*, in his Book against King *Henry*, objects this to him, and this has a fair appearance: whereas the Petition, that he cites, is a Dream of his own, that was never before heard of. But tho' I have said more for the Honour of Cardinal *Pool*,
 than

than all the Panegericks that have been given him, amount to, yet I am very well assured that if in this Particular he was abused by Reports, to which he gave too easy belief, for as all the original Instructions and Dispatches, that were made upon that Affair, are yet extant, in which there is not one word relating to this Matter: so it is plain, that the affair was never so far advanced, as to demand a Permission for a second Mariage, since that could never be so much asked, till the first was dissolved, and that not being gained, there was not room made for it. If the King had given such advantages against himself, as to have put such a Confession in a Petition to the Pope, is it to be imagined, that the Popes would not have discovered this in some Authentical manner, and even have put it in the Thundering Bull, that was afterward published against him; for this alone proved his Hypocrisy of pretending Scruples of Conscience at his Marriage beyond Exception; and if the King acted in this matter, without any regard to Conscience, it is unreasonable to represent him as so strictly Conscientious, and that he would have confessed so scandalous a secret, and so to have put himself in the Power of those, of whom he could not be well assured.

p. 263, 36. „26. He gives us a long account of *Wel-*
 „sey's design, to engage the King to
 „marry the Dutchess of *Alencon*. Of the Bishop
 „of *Tark's* being sent over to bring the English
 „Princess

„ Princess into *France*, upon her being con-
 „ tracted to the Dauphin. And of *Wolfey's*
 „ prevailing with him, to let that Propo-
 „ sition fall, and to set on another, for a
 „ Mariage between the King of *England* and
 „ the Dutchess of *Alencon*. And that the
 „ Bp. of *Tarke* was cheated by *Wolfey*; and
 „ being in the interests of the Dutchess of *A-*
 „ *lencon*, he demanded a publick Audience
 „ of the King, in the presence of the Council,
 „ in which he employed all his Eloquence to
 „ perswade him to divorce his Queen, and to
 „ marry the most Christian King's Sister.

In all this matter Mr. *Varillas* is only the
 Copier of *Sanders*, yet he cannot tell another
 Man's Lie, without mixing some additions
 of his own; for the Bp. of *Tarke's* being sent
 over, to demand the Princess, is one of the
 fruits of his own Religion. But tho' a Pe-
 dant of a Priest, such as *Sanders*, had told so
 improbable a Story; yet it ill became a Man,
 that pretends to know Courts, and the Ne-
 gotiations of Ambassadours, as Mr. *Varillas*
 does, to assert such improbabilities, as that
 an Ambassadour sent Express to demand a
 Princess for his Masters Son, which was the
 greatest advantage that *France* could have
 possibly hoped for, should be so far wrought
 on by the Minister of the Court, to which he
 was sent, as not only to let all this fall; but
 to make a new Proposition for the illegiti-
 mating of the young Princess, and for offer-
 ing his master's Sister to King *Henry*, and
 all this without any Instructions from his
 Master;

master, and thereby exposing the Dutches of *Alencon* to the scorn of being rejected, after she was so publicly offered to the King of *England*, tho' every Body knows, that the first offers of Princeesses are made in secret. And after all this, that the Bishop of *Tarke*, who not only exceeded his Instructions, but acted contrary to them in so important a matter, was neither recalled nor disgraced; but on the contrary he was afterwards promoted to be a Cardinal by the recommendation of the Court of *France*; and he being a Cardinal, and seeing afterwards how he was abused, if we may believe this Fable, is it to be supposed, that he, either out of his own Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, or by the Accusations that naturally such a Proposition, begun by him, must have brought on him, would not have told all this Secret afterwards? In short, as this Relation contains many particulars in it, that are not according to the Forms of our Court, such as his demanding an Audience in the presence of the Council (for it seems, as Mr. *Varillas* sets our Parliaments above our kings, he will make the Privy Council equal to them) so the whole is so contrary to all the Methods of Ambassadors, that this would scarce pass, if it related to the transactions of the Courts of *China*, or *Japan*; but it is so gross an imposition on such as know the methods of the Courts of *Europe*, that Mr. *Varillas* presumed too much on the credulity of his Readers, when he thought that this could be

be believ'd : and *si non è vero, il è ben trovato*, is so necessary a Character for a Man to maintain, that would have his Books sell well, which I am told is Mr. *Varillas's* chief Design, that he had best find out some Judge of his Pieces, that has a true Understanding, since it is plain, that he has not Sense enough himself to make a right Judgment in such matters.

„ 27. He says, when Cardinal *Wol-*
 „ *sey* went over into France, he carri- P. 265.
 „ ed a Commission to consult the Uni-
 „ versities of France, touching the Kings Di-
 „ vorce ; but that the change of Affairs in Italy,
 „ made the King to recal him, who was strange-
 „ ly surprized, when he found that the King
 „ had no thoughts of Marrying the Dutchess of
 „ *Alencon*, and that he was become so much in
 „ love with *Anne Boleyn*, that he was resolved to
 „ Marry her on any Terms.

It is an unfortunate thing for a Man, to have heard too much, and to have read too little of History : for as the one gives him much confidence, so the other exposes him to many Errors. Mr. *Varillas* had heard, that King *Henry* had consulted many Universities ; but not knowing where to place this, he fancied, that it must be the first step in the whole Matter. But he knew not, that this was not thought on, till after a Sute of above two Years continuance, in which the King saw, how he was deluded by the Court of *Rome* ; and upon that, he took the other Method of consulting the Universities. All his Speculations concerning Cardinal *Wolsey*, are built

built on the common Mistake, that supposes him ignorant of the King's intentions for *Anne Boleyn*, the falsehood of which I have sufficiently demonstrated.

„ 28. He tells us, that Cardinal
P. 278. „ *Wolsey* having once several Bishops to
„ Dine with them, the King knowing
„ of it, went to them after Dinner, and made
„ a Writing to be read to them, that set forth
„ the Reasons against his Marriage: the Bi-
„ shops did not approve it quite; yet they
„ were so complying, as to say, that if those
„ things were true, his Scruples were well
„ grounded.

This was too important a thing, not to be made appear probable by some of his pretended Vouches, tho' it is most certainly false; for a Resolution, signed by all the Bishops of *England*, except *Fisher*, was produced before the Legates, to shew how well the King's Scruple were grounded.

„ 29. He says, the Privy Council
Ibid. „ acted more steadily, and intended to
„ give the King an undeniable Proof of
„ his Mistresses Lewdness, for *Sr. Thomas Wiat*,
„ that had obtained of her the last Favours, was
„ willing to let the King know it; and so be-
„ ing of the Privy Council, he not only own-
„ ed the matter to the rest of that Board, but
„ was content to let the King know it; and
„ when he found that the King would not be-
„ lieve it, he offered to make the King himself
„ an Eye-witness to their Practices; but tho'
the

„ the Duke of *Suffolk* made this bold Proposition to the King, he was so far from hearkning to it, that *Wiat* was disgraced upon it, and by this means the Mistress was covered from such dangerous Discoveries for the future.

Such a Story as this might have passed from a *Sanders*, that knew the World little, but in earnest, it seems the fits of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion are strong even to Extasie, since they make him write as extravagantly of humane Affairs, as if he had passed his whole Life in a Desert. A Man that knows what humane Nature is, cannot think that *Wiat* would have either so far betrayed Mrs. *Boleyn*, or exposed himself, as to have made such a Discovery; it being more natural for a Man, that was assured of a young Lady's Favour, to contribute to her Elevation, since that must have raised himself, than to contrive her ruin. And King *Henry*, whose imperious Temper gave him a particular Disposition to Jealousie, must have been of a different composition from all the rest of Mankind, if he could have rejected a Discovery of this Nature. And when the secrets of Jealousies are opened to Princes, it is too gross, even for a Romance, to make the Discoverer to begin with the Council-Board, and to procure a Deputation from them, to acquaint the King with them. But as *Wiat* does not appear to have been a Privy Councillour, till near the end of King *Henry's* Reign; so it is plain enough, he was never disgraced, but continued to be still imploied by the King in some foreign Embassies, to the end of his Life.

P. 269, „ 30. He says, *Anne Boleyn* endea-
 & 270. „ voured, tho' in vain, to engage Sr.
 „ *Thomas More* to negotiate her Affair,
 „ but he being Proof against all corruption,
 „ *Gardiner*, that was a Canonist, was made Se-
 „ cretary of State, and was sent to *Rome* with
 „ my Lord *Brian*, who scandalized all *Rome* with
 „ his lewd behaviour; and had the impudence
 „ to assure the Pope, that the Queen desired to
 „ be divorced, that so she might retire into a
 „ Monastery. And made other offers of great
 „ advantage to the Pope, in case he would al-
 „ low the Divorce.

Mr. *Varillas* cannot say too much in Sr. *Tho-
 mas More's* commendation: but since he was a
 Man of so much Sincerity, it is certain, that he
 approved of the Divorce: for in a Letter, that
 his own Family printed among his other Works,
 in Queen *Mary's* Reign, he, writing to *Cromwel*,
 owns, that he had approved of the Divorce,
 and that he had great hopes of the King's suc-
 cess in it, as long as it was prosecuted in the
 Court of *Rome*, and founded on the defects that
 were pretended to be in the Bull; and after that,
 most of the Universities and of the learned Men
 of *Europe* had given their Opinions in favour of
 the Divorce, four years after it first moved, he
 being then Chancellour, went down to the House
 of Commons and made those Decisions to be
 read there, and upon that he desired the Mem-
 bers of Parliament to report in their Countries,
 that which they had heard and seen, and ad-
 ded these very Words, *and then all Men will openly
 perceive,*

perceive, that the King has not attempted this Matter for his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience. Upon *Wolsey's* Disgrace, he was made Chancellour, and continued in that high trust almost three years ; which is an evident sign that he did not then oppose the Divorce ; nor did he grow disgusted of the Court, till he saw that the King was upon the point of breaking with the See of *Rome*. So that he would have liked the Divorce, if the Pope could have been prevailed with to allow it ; but he did not approve of the King's procuring it another way. Mr. *Varillas* is no happier in the other parts of this Article : for *Gardiner* was not sent first to *Rome*, to negotiate this matter. *Knight* that was Secretary of State, was first employed ; and *Gardiner* was not made Secretary of State, till near the end of this Negotiation : nor was he ever sent to *Rome* with *Brian* : nor was *Brian* a Lord, but only a Knight ; and it was a year after this Sute was first begun, before *Brian* was employed in it ; so that he could carry no such deluding Message to the Pope, concerning the Queen's desiring the Divorce, and for this pretension of the Queen's desiring to retire to a Monastery, it was never made use of by the English Ambassadors. It was on the contrary a notion of the Pope's, who thought, that if that could be put into her Head, it would be the easiest Method of getting out of this uneasie matter : and therefore he ordered his Legate Cardinal *Campegio* to advise the Queen to it. And for the scandals of *Brian's* Life, they must have been very great, if they gave offence
at

at *Rome* at that time : but as I can not answer much for *Brian*, so I will not trouble my self to vindicate him ; but he could not behave himself more indecently at *Rome* then *Campegio* did in *England*, when he came over Legate, who scandalized even the Court with his lewd behaviour.

„ 31. He says, the Pope was sensible of his Obligations to the King, and
P. 272. „ resolved to do all he could to gratify him, and so ordered *Cajetan* to examine the matter, who did it in his manner after the Method of the Schools. And here he gives us an abstract of his Book. He laid this down for a Maxime, that the High Priest under the New Testament had no less Authority, than the High Priest had under the Law of *Moses*, who had power to allow of such Marriages, to good ends and in good Circumstances ; and that the end of this Marriage was noble : that the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* being united, might send their Fleets to block up *Constantinople*. And that by this Marriage, as *Italy* was to be set at Peace, so King *Henry* was diverted from Marrying into Families suspect of Heresie : and that therefore the Pope could not grant a Dispensation for annulling it. And with his usual Confidence he cites on the Margent *Cajetan's* Consultation. And this, he says, confirmed the Pope in his Resolution, not to grant the Dispensation for breaking the Marriage upon any Terms whatsoever.

I have given such Authentick Demonstrations of the Falschhood of this Particular, that I am sure

sure the strongest Fit of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion cannot resist them: For the Pope, upon the first Proposition, franckly granted the Dispensation, and only consulted vvith some Cardinals about the Methods of doing it: and aftervvards he sent over into *England*, and Promised, that he vvould do, not only all that he could grant out of that plenitude of Povver, vvith vvwhich he vvvas vested in the King's favour. The Pope also promised a Method, that perhaps vvould have brought the matter to an easier issue, vvwhich vvvas, that if the King vvvas satisfied in his ovvn Conscience concerning the Divorce, in vvwhich he did not think that there vvvas a Doctor in the vvhole World, that could judge so vvell as himself, then he might put avvay his Queen, and Marry another, and then the Pope vvould confirm all. For the crafty Pope thought, it vvould be easier for him to confirm it, vvhen it was once done, than to give Authority to do it: and in short, the Pope made the King still believe, that he would do it, till by that means he brought the Emperour to grant him all he desired. And as for *Cajetan's* opinion, I am now in a Countrey where I cannot find his Works, so I cannot be so positive in this matter; but as far as my Memory serves me, *Cajetan* writ nothing with relation to this matter: but only in the body of his School-Divinity, that he had published long before this Sute began, he had set on foot a new Opinion touching the Prohibitions of Marrying in near Degrees, which the Church by a constant Tradition had in all Times lookt
on

on as Mortal Laws ; whereas he asserted, they were only positive Precepts, that did not bind under the Christian Religion, and by consequence, that there was no Law now against Marriages in those Degrees, but the Law of the Church, with which the Pope might dispense. In all the Books that I have seen, that were writ for the Queen's Cause, *Cajetan's* Authority is brought, as a thing already abroad in the World, and not as a Consultation writ upon this Occasion : and by what I remember of that Cardinal's Life, it is said, that in his reasonings with *Luther* he had found himself so defective in the knowledge of the Scripture, that whereas formerly he had given himself wholly to the Study of School-Divinity, he after that gave himself entirely to the Study of the Scripture, in which, making allowance for his Ignorance of the Original Tongues, he succeeded to admiration. But tho' I cannot procure a Sight of his Treatise concerning the Degrees of Marriage, the Idea that I retain of his solid way of writing, makes me conclude, that he was not capable of writing in so trifling a manner, as *Mr. Varillas* represents the Matter. For what Man of Sense could say, that the High Priest under the Jewish Religion could dispense with a Brother's Marrying his Brother's Widdow, in some cases : in case that a Brother died without Children, his Brother, or the next of Kin, might have Married the Widdow, by the Dispensation that the Law gave, and not by a Dispensation of the High Priest. And for the Ends that
he

he pretends of those two Princes, going to block up *Constantinople* with their Fleets, a man must be ignorant in History to the Degree of Mr. *Varillas*, to imagine this, since as the Kings of those Times had no Royal Fleets, but were forced to hire Merchants Vessels, when they had occasion for them; so the blocking up of *Constantinople* was too bold a project for those days and does not seem to have been so much as once thought on. And for the other Ends that he mentions, tho' the procuring such a Peace to *Italy*, as was for the Interest of the Popes, was a thing for which they would have sacrificed any thing; yet this differs much from P. *Julius* the Second's Character, who granted the Dispensation, since his whole Reign was a continued Imbroilment of *Italy*. Nor does it appear that K. *Henry's* Marriage could have any influence on the Peace of *Italy*, unless it were very remote. And as for the other Reason alledged for the Marriage, that it diverted K. *Henry* from Marrying into Families suspect of Heresy, this is too great a violation of the Custom; for it seems Mr. *Varillas* had the present State of *Europe* in his Head, when he writ it: but *Cajetan* could not write this, for in the Year 1503. there were no Families in *Europe* suspect of Heresy: so that all this reasoning, that is here entitled to *Cajetan*, is a mass of Mr. *Varillas's* crude Imaginations, which do equally discover both his Ignorance, and his want of Judgment.

32. "He accuses Mr. *Beaucaire*, for
 P. 274. "saying a thing, that was no way
 "probable, when he affirms, that Cardinal
 " *Campegio* carried over to *England*
 "a Bull annulling the Marriage, which he
 "was allowed to shew both to the King
 "and to Cardinal *Wolsey*, but that this was only
 "an artifice to procure him the more credit
 "for drawing out the Process into a great
 "length.

But when a Writer rejects what he finds affirmed by another, that lived in the Time concerning which he writes, he ought at least to give some reasons to justify his being of another mind; since it is a little too bold for any Man, of a temper more modest than that of Mr. *Varillas*, to deny a matter of fact, merely because he thinks it is no way probable: but it is not only probable, but evidently true, as I have made it appear beyond all possibility of contradiction: for after that *Campegio* had, according to his Instructions, shewed the Bull, both to the King and to *Wolsey*, great endeavours were used at *Rome* to procure an order for his shewing it to some of the King's Ministers; but the Pope could not be prevailed on so far: and I have printed an Original Letter of *John Castalis*, that contains a long conference that he had with the Pope on this head; by which it appears, that the only consideration that the Pope had before his Eyes in this whole matter, was the Emperour's Greatness, and his Fears of being ruined, if he had

had made any further steps in that Affair.

„ 33. He says, that the Queen ha-
 „ ving thrown her self at the King's P. 277.
 „ Feet, and made a very moving Speech,
 „ the King was so far melted with it, that he
 „ said, he vvas contented to refer. the mat-
 „ ter to be judged by the Pope in Person, upon
 „ vvhich she vvent out instantly, that so the
 „ King might not have time to recal that, vvhich
 „ perhaps he had said a little too suddenly: and
 „ that she alvways claimed this Promise, tho' the
 „ King had no regard to it.

Here is a new Fit of his Religion, for it
 seems *Sanders* felt not those vigorous Motions,
 that were necessary to furnish out his Scenes:
 and therefore, tho Mr. *Varillas* adds no Discove-
 ry as to matters of Fact, beyond what *Sanders*
 had made, yet he has the more copious Inven-
 tions of the two. But he does not place his
 contrivances judiciously, for it is much safer to
 dress up the secrets of the Cabinet, than pub-
 lick Courts of Judicature with such garnishings:
 and as that was the most solemn Tryal, that e-
 ver *England* saw, in which a King and Queen
 appeared as Delinquents, to be tried for Incest,
 so the matter is not only particularly related by
 those that lived in that Time, or soon after it,
 but the Journals of the Court are yet in being,
 and by all these it appears, that as soon as the
 Queen made that moving Speech, she imme-
 diately rise and went out, without staying for
 one Word of Answer. And in all that long Sute
 that followed afterwards, for obliging the King

to carry on the Sute at *Rome*, that depended for three years, this offer of the King's, if it had any other being but that vvhich Mr. *Varillas's* Fiction gives it, vvould have been certainly alledged, for obliging the King to continue the Process at *Rome*; but it vvvas never so much as mentioned, so the Honour of it belongs to Mr. *Varillas*.

Ibid. „ 34. He says, that in the Process, „ as the King's Advocates produced a „ Letter, that Cardinal *Hadrian* „ vvrit at the time of granting the Bull for the „ had Marriage, that he had heard P. *Julius* the se- „ cond say, that he could not grant it, the „ Queens's Advocates produced likewise a Let- „ ter of Pope *Julius* to the King of *England*, that „ assured him, that tho' he had not granted the „ Bull as soon as it vvvas demanded, that vvvas „ not out of any intention to refuse it; but „ that he had only vvaited for a favourable con- „ juncture, that so he might do it the more „ deliberately.

This is of no consequence; but some Men get into ill Habits, that engage them, even vvhen there is no advantage to tell Lies. The vvhole Journals of this Sute mention neither the one nor the other of these matters: there is somevvhat like the second, of vvhich some, it seems, had in discourse given Mr. *Varillas* a dark Hint, and he resolved to garnish it up the best he could. There vvvas a Breve of P. *Julius's* produced, but not vvrit to the King of *England*, for it vvvas addressed to the Kings of *Spain*, and

vvvas

was indeed believed to be forged in *Spain*. It was conceived in the very Words of the Bull for the Marriage, and was of the same date, and the only difference between it and the Bull was, that whereas the Bull mentioned the Queen's Marriage with *P. Arthur*, as having been perhaps consummated, this spoke of the Consummation of that Marriage less doubtfully, and without a *perhaps*: and the inference that was made upon this, was, that the *Spaniards* foreseeing that the Consummation of *P. Arthur's* Marriage would be proved, had forged this Breve, to make it appear, that the Pope was informed of that as of a thing certain, tho' it was decent in the publick Bull to mention it doubtfully. But *Mr. Varillas* shews how dangerous a thing it vvas to write History upon flying Reports, helped up a little with the dull Invention of an ill Poet.

„ 35. He runs out into a high Com-
 „ mendation of the Zeal and Fidelity P. 278.
 „ that some of the English Bishops,
 „ who were named to be the Queen's Advocates,
 „ shewed in pleading her Cause.

But in this he shewvs, how little he understands the common forms of Law: for since the Queen declined the Court, and appealed to the Pope, there was no more occasion given to her Advocates, to speak to the merits of her Cause. And whereas he pretends, that this was done, not only by Bishop *Fisher*, but by the Bishops of *London*, *Bath* and *Ely*, that was impossible, since all the Bishops had signed a Writing, which was

D 2. produced

produced before the Legates, in vvhich they all declared themselves against the Lavvfulness of the Marriage.

„ 36. He says, the Pope recalled the Cause,
 „ to be heard before himself, on this Pretence,
 „ that the King had by Word of Mouth consented to it.

This is a flight of our Authors, to colour that shameful secret: for vvhen the Emperour had agreed to put *Florence* into the hands of the *Medici*, the Pope vvho had seemed to favour the King's Cause till that time, did then admit of the Queen's Appeal: and tho' he had signed a formal Promise, never to recal the Cause, yet he being as little a Slave to his Word, as Mr. *Varillas* is to Truth, broke his faith. But he never so much as once pretended this Consent of the King's.

„ 37. He says, *Wolfey* being disgraced, vvvas sent to *York*, vvhere he languished some time, being reduced „ almost to Beggary.

This comes in as a dash of his Pen, to set out King *Henry's* Severity: but one of *Wolfey's* Domesticks, that vvrit his Life, tells us, in hovv great State he vvvent to *York*, vvith a Train of 160 Horse, and in an Equipage of 72 Carts follovving him vvith his Household-stuff; for the King restored him not only his Arch-Bishoprick of *York*, but also his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, vvhich Mr. *Varillas* fancies he took from him: and it vvvas impossible for a Man, that had those tvvo great Benefices, to be reduced to any degrees of Want.

„ 38. He

„ 38. He says; *Anne Boleyn* raised *Cranmer* to the Dignity of chief Minister of State, who was one of the profligatest Men of *England*, that had nothing of Christianity in him, but the outward appearances, being ambitious, voracious, bold, turbulent and capable of all sorts of Intrigues. He had studied long in *Germany*, where he was infected with Lutheranism, tho' he did not outwardly profess it. He took a Concubine in *Germany*, whom he afterwards Married by the King's permission. He had been Chaplain long in the Family of *Boleyn*, so when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, *Anne Boleyn* presented him.

The Fit here is extream hot and long, and shews, how entirely Mr. *Varillas* was subdued by it, since it is hardly possible for a Man to spit out more Venom and Falsehood at once. *Cranmer* was never in the Affairs of State, much less chief Minister. And any Ignorance less than Mr. *Varillas's* would have found, that *Cromwel* succeeded *Wolsey* in the Ministry. As for *Cranmer's* Ambition, as he had passed the greatest part of his Life in a secret Retirement, so he was in *Germany* when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, and when he understood that the King intended to raise him to that Dignity, he excused himself all he could, and delayed his Return to *England* some Months, that so the King might have time given him

... his Mind. He was so far from
 ... violent and hardy, and from be-
 ... man of Intrigues, that his plain Sim-
 plicity made him to be despised by his Ene-
 mies, till they found that there was a wise
 Conduct under all that Mildness and Slow-
 ness. And it was this simplicity, and his
 keeping himself out of all Intrigues, that
 preserved him in King *Henry's* esteem. He
 never went to study in *Germany*, but was
 sent into *Italy* and *Germany* to reason with
 the learned Men in the Universities concer-
 ning the King's Divorce. He married a
 Wife in *Germany*, and was so far from ob-
 taining the King's Permission to Marry her,
 that upon a severe Law, that was after-
 wards made against the Marriage of the
 Clergy, he sent her into *Germany* for some
 time, yet he frankly owned his Marriage
 to the King, when he questioned him upon
 it, and there was never the least imputati-
 on laid upon his Chastity, except this of
 his Marriage, which we think none at all.
 He was never Chaplain in the *Boleyn* Fa-
 mily, but lived private in *Cambridge*, when
 the King came to hear of him, and to im-
 ploy him in the prosecution of the Divorce.
 And so far was he from being presented
 by *Anne Boleyn*, upon the Vacancy of *Canterbu-*
ry, that he was then in *Germany*. And now it
 appears what a secret Mr. *Varillas* has, of
 making as much Falschood go into one Pe-
 riod, as would serve another to scatter up
 and

and down a whole Book; but we know the Society that has this secret, and it is certain, that Mr. *Varillas* has learnt it to perfection.

„ 39. He says, the King accept-
 „ ed *Cranmer* upon condition, that Ibid.
 „ he would pronounce the Sentence
 „ of Divorce between their Majesties of Eng-
 „ land, in case that the Pope ratified their
 „ contested Marriage: and thus by a way
 „ so uncanonical he was made Archbishop of
 „ *Canterbury*.

There was no occasion of demanding any such Promise of *Cranmer*, for he had openly declared his opinion, that the Marriage was incestuous and unlawful, so that his Judgment was already known. But Mr. *Varillas* shews how little he knew our matters, when he says, that *Cranmer* was made Archbishop in an uncanonical way; for as he was chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*, so he had his Bull from *Rome*, and how little soever, this is Canonical according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, yet Mr. *Varillas* has no reason to except to the Uncanonicalness of it.

„ 40. He says, he was installed by
 „ another Artifice, for being requi- Ibid.
 „ red to swear the Oath to the Pope,
 „ he had a Notary by him, who attested, that
 „ took his Oath against his Will, and that he
 „ he would not keep it to the prejudice of
 „ the King.

He made no Protestation, that he took that Oath against his Will; but he repeated a Protestation twice at the high Altar, that he intended not by that Oath to the Pope, to oblige himself to any thing that was contrary to the Law of God, to the King's Prerogative, or to the Laws of the Land, nor to be restrained by it from proposing or consenting to any thing, that might concern the Reformation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, or the Prerogatives of the King and Kingdom. This is a different thing from protesting, that he took the Oath against his Will, which as it had been ridiculous in it self, so was very far contrary to that native Singleness of Heart, in which he always acted.

„ 41. He says, there was an ancient Law against the Subjects of *England's* acknowledging a foreign Jurisdiction, upon which the King raised a Sute against his Clergy, for owning the Pope's Jurisdiction, in that which was a mixt Court, relating both to the Temporal and the Spiritual. And he adds, that the Clergy had an easie Answer to this Charge, since that Law had no regard to the Spiritual Authority.

Matters of Law are things of too delicate a Nature for so slight a Man as Mr. *Varrillas* to look into them. He represents this as one single Law, that was very old, and that

hat related only to Temporals, whereas if he had known any thing of our Laws, he would have seen, that there was a vast number of Laws made in the Reigns of many of our Kings, such as *Edward* the first, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the 4th, and *Henry* the 5th, all relating to this Matter, and these Laws were made in express Words against all that brought Bulls and Provisions from *Rome* to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

„ 42. He says, the motions of
 „ the Clergy in their own de- Ibid.
 „ fence, could not but be feeble,
 „ since they had two such treacherous heads,
 „ as *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and
 „ *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, so they made a
 „ Submission to the King, but he would
 „ not receive it, unless they would acknow-
 „ ledg, that he had the same Authority o-
 „ ver the Ecclesiastical Body, that he had
 „ over his other Subjects, and thus without
 „ thinking on what they did, they furnish-
 „ ed the King with a pretence of calling
 „ himself Head of the Church of *Eng-*
 „ *land*.

Cranmer was so little concerned in this matter, that it was past two Years before he was Archbishop, while *Warham* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*; for the Submission was made in *March* 1531, and he was consecrated in *March* 1533. And *Lee* of *York* was so far from consenting to it, that he struggled long against it, after *Warham*

and his Synod had past it. And whereas he pretends, that the King drew his Pretence, to be Head of the Church of *England* from a general acknowledgment that they had made of the King's Authority over Churchmen, this is so far from true, that the whole Clergy, even his admired *Fisher* not excepted, did in the Title of the Submission, to which they all set their Hands, call the King in so many formal Words, supream Head of the Church, and Clergy of *England*, in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ: and this was done during *More's* Ministry, who continued Chancellor 15 Months after this.

„ 43. He says, that upon *More's*
 P. 283. „ laying down his Office, the
 „ King gave the Seals to another
 „ Churchman, that was no less devoted to
 „ him than *Cranmer*, whose name was
 „ *Audley*, on whom he bestows a Cha-
 „ racter, though he knows nothing con-
 „ cerning him.

Audley was no Churchman, but a common Lawyer, as *More* was, that had been Chancellour before him, and the Gentlemen of that Robe being raised upon merit, and not by their Birth, his low Extraction was no extraordinary matter.

„ 44. He says, the King finding
 Ibid. „ that the Pope was afraid, that he
 „ should contract a Secret Mariage
 „ with *Anne Boleyn*, resolved to do it, on de-
 „ sign to do the Pope a Spite ; so the Day
 „ being

„ being set, one *Rolland* a Priest, being appointed to do the Office, demanded the „ Pope's Bull for the Mariage, which he was „ made believe that the King had procured; „ but the King swore to him, that he had „ it in his Closet, and that nothing made „ him not go immediately to fetch it, but „ his unwillingness to retard that Action.

This is so ill told, that Mr. *Varillas* ought to have imployed a little of his Religious Zeal, to make it more plausible: for it was then so well understood, that the Pope was entirely united to the Emperour, that *Rolland Lee* could not imagine there was any Bull granted; and he was all his Life of too complying a Temper, to need such Artifices to oblige him to do any thing that might serve to advance him. Mr. *Varillas* represents the King here too much like a private Gentleman, that keeps his Papers in his own Closet, and that must go fetch them upon occasion, which was so far from K. *Henry's* Temper, that our Poet neglected the *Custom* too much, in presenting him in such a Manner. Only it was thought fit to make the King begin his Marriage with a false Oath: And tho' not only Truth but Decency was Sacrificed to that, this was too small a matter to create any Trouble to such a Man as Mr. *Varillas*: and his making the King to Mary, *Anne Boleyn*, only to do a Spite to the Pope, is of a piece with the rest. But this being the Conclusion of an Amour of a seven Years continuance, a
Poe

Poet should have given it a more amorous turn.

P. 284. „45. But to let us see, that his
 „Character of Poet has not quite
 „abandoned him, he brings in A-
 „mour in Jealousy, and tells us, that the
 „Jealousy of the two Sisters was the true
 „cause of it ; for the Elder envying the
 „Fortune of the Younger, began to publish
 „the Privacies that had been between the
 „King and her, upon which the younger,
 „to take her turn of Revenge, was con-
 „tent to be Married to the King secretly,
 „upon his promising to publish it within two
 „Months.

But the Fictions as well as the Veries of old Men, when they enter upon amorous matters, taste of their Age : for it is a pleasant thing to see our Poet fancy that it was Revenge that determined a young Gentlewoman to be content to be a Queen, one would think that other Considerations without this, were strong enough to make a Crown appear a lovely thing to her. As for her eldest Sister *Mary's* Indiscretion, and Jealousy, our Author has the honour to be the Inventer of it : for I do not find it in any other Writer, and therefore I do him all the Justice he can desire, in confessing this to be the Product of his own Fancy. But his imagining that the King would not lose this favourable Moment, least the attractives of a Crown should have been less operative, if Spite did not concur to

to quicken them, is a thought too little worthy of a Man that pretends to have observed humane Nature so exactly.

„ 46. He says, upon this *Cran-*
 „ *mer* with some Judges, that Ibid.
 „ were corrupted, were sent to
 „ *Dunstable*, to put an end to the process
 „ of the Divorce, and tho' the Queen re-
 „ fused to acknowledg them, yet they dis-
 „ solved the Marriage.

There was no occasion to corrupt Judges in this Matter, nor were there any Judges imployed in it: a great many Bishops went along with *Cranmer*; and concurred in the Judgment with him, tho' the Sentence was past in his Name. It was made appear, that it had been the constant Doctrine of the Church, that the Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage in the Law of *Moses*, were moral Precepts, which did oblige Christians. This was proved by the Decrees of several Popes, the Canons of many Synods and Councils, and by the concurring Testimonies of almost all the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers both Ancient and Modern, and by the agreeing Doctrines both of Schoolmen, Canonists, and Casuists; and if Tradition was the true Expounder of Scripture, and the sure conveyance of Doctrine, the Marriage was certainly incestuous; so that according to the fundamental Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Marriage was unlawful: and by the same Authorities it was also proved, that the Pope's Dispensation could not
 make

make void the Law of God, and that the Clergy of *England* were the proper Judges of what fell out in *England*. This being the State of that Matter, and almost all the Universities of *Europe*, that of *Bologna* it self not excepted, tho' it was the Pope's own Town, having declared in the King's Favour, it was no wonder, if *Cranmer*, upon such Grounds, proceeded to give Sentence.

„ 47. He dresses up a Speech
P. 286. „ for Card. *Bellay*, all out of his
„ own fancy; but one thing is re-
„ markable; he makes the Cardinal repre-
„ sent to the King, that if he went to sepa-
„ rate himself from the Communion of
„ the Church of *Rome*, either he would
„ succeed in it, or not; if he succeeded
„ in it, besides that he put himself in a
„ state of Damnation, there would be no
„ place found that would be safe for his sa-
„ cred Person, against the attempts of zea-
„ lous Catholicks, who would endeavour
„ to Kill him, that they might preserve their
„ ancient Religion; and if he succeeded not,
„ he might be assured, that he would lose
„ both his Crown, and his Life in a general
„ Revolt.

Mr. *Varillas* is now in a Fit of Religion of another sort, for as there are hot and cold Fits of Agues, so if some of his Fits make him forget the Obligations of speaking Truth, this makes him speak out a truth indeed, but of that Nature, that if he had been long practised in the Secrets of the Court
of

of Rome, or of the Jesuite Order, he would have known, that tho' during the Minority of a King, a Cardinal *Peron* might speak it boldly, or during the Confusions of a Civil War, the whole *Sorbonne* might declare in Favour of it, yet under such a Reign, and in the present Conjuncture, it was to be denied boldly. And one would not have thought, that at this time a *Clement* or a *Ravilliac* would have had no worse Character, but that of zealous Catholicks. So we have now an entire notion of a zealous Catholick from Mr. *Varillas*: he does not trouble himself to examine what he says, whether it is true or false, nor will he stick at any Crime, if it may tend to preserve his Religion. And if a Prince goes about to change his Religion, and to depart from the Communion of the See of Rome, he must at first look for a general Revolt, which must end in his Deprivation and Death, and if that fails, there is a reserve of zealous Catholicks, who will persue him into every corner, and never give over, till they have Sacrificed him to the Interest of their Religion. This is the severest thing that the greatest Enemy to their Church could possibly object to it; and yet Mr. *Varillas* has so little judgment, as to put it in the Mouth of a Cardinal. But it is but lately that he has got his Pension, and he has not past a long Noviciat, or perhaps he is now too old to learn the resayings, that his Pattern Mr. *Maimbourg* would have taught him, who
in

in such a Reign as this is in *France*, must dress up their Religion as a Doctrine, all made up of Obedience and Submission. But perhaps some had told Mr. *Varillas*, that the late Articles of the Clergy lookt like the beginning of a Separation from the Court of *Rome*, so that he thought, it was fit to let the King know his Danger, if he went a step further, either in that Matter, or in a Reformation of Religion, of which there has been so much noise made lately in *France*, tho' it is visible that this has been set on foot, meerly to deceive those, that had a mind to cozen themselves by the hopes of some Amendments, to make Shipwreck of their Faith and of a good Conscience.

„ 48. He makes the Hopes, that the
 P. 287. „ Cardinal *Bellay* had of succeeding in
 „ his Negotiation, to be chiefly founded
 „ on the King's being weary of *Anne Boleyn*, and
 „ his becoming in love with *Jane Seimour*; and
 „ that therefore he concluded that time, and a
 „ little Patience might infallibly dispose him to
 „ return back again to Queen *Katherine*.

He makes here strange Discoveries in the matters of Love, since he fancies, that the King's falling in love with a new Mistress, might dispose him to return to his old and abandoned Queen. The thing is also so falsely timed, that it was two years and almost a half after this, before there appeared any beginnings, either of the Kings displeasure of *Anne Boleyn*, or of his Love to *Jane Seimour*. But the true account of this last Negotiation of the Card. *de Bellay* is that at *Marseilles*: The Pope had promised to *Francis*

the first, that if K. Henry would submit the matter to him, and send a Proxy to Rome, he would judg in his favour against the Queen, because he knew that his cause was just and good; and the Cardinal was sent over to induce the King to make his Submission; but the King would not upon verbal Promises make so great a step, yet he promised, that if Assurances were sent him, that were formal and binding, he would upon that send a Submission in full form to Rome, and when the Cardinal procured these from the Court of Rome, the King did send over the Submission. So that Mr. Varillas having suppressed the true Account of this Negotiation, he thought he must make it up with somewhat of his own Invention: and as all Liquors drawn out of a musty Barrel taste of the Cask; so there are so many Characters that belong to Mr. Varillas's imagination, that it is heard for him to venture on inventing, without discovering that he has full as little Judgment as he has Sincerity.

“ 49. He lays the blame of the
 “ slowness of the Courier, on the Ibid.
 “ Care that the Emperor's Ministers
 “ had taken, to stop the Passages.

But this was a ridiculous observation; for there being a day set for the Courier's Return, he hapned only to come two Days after his time, and it being in the Winter, in which the Sea was to be twice past, there is no need to run to any other speculation for a slowness of two Days in such a Voyage, and at such a Season

son ; but it is often observed of those, that have contracted ill habits, as lying in particular, that their naughty *customs* return upon them, even when there is no provocation lying on them to tempt them to them ; so Mr. *Varillas* has given himself such a liberty, to interweave his own Fancies with all the Transactions that he relates, that he cannot let the slightest thing pass without bringing in a stroak of his Politicks to adorn it.

“ 50. He says, the Pope having
p. 283. “ past Sentence against the King,
“ the King did upon that hold a Par-
“ liament on the 24 of *April*, 1534, in which
“ he made himself to be acknowledged supream
“ Head of the Churches of *England* and *Ire-*
“ land; and got his former Marriage to
“ be condemned, and his second to be con-
“ firmed; upon which Q. *Katherine* died of
“ Grief.

In such publick things Mr. *Varillas* should be wiser than to venture on the giving of Dates, for it is at least two to one that he gives them wrong. The Parliament, that past all these Laws, sate down on the 15th of *January*, and was prorogued on the 29th of *March*, and Sentence was given against the King at *Rome* the 23 of *March*: for the truth is, the King did not expect sincere dealing from the Court of *Rome*, and therefore he looking on this last Proposition as a Delusion, to divert him from passing the Acts, that he had projected

lected for this Session, resolved to go on with his Design, knowing that if the Pope would grant him that which he desired, it would not be uneasy for him to get those acts repealed.

Q. *Katherine* lived two years after this; so that, tho' the Melancholy, which this gave her, did very likely shorten her Days, yet it was too Poetical, to make her just to dye at the end of that Parliament.

“ 51. He says, that the King upon
“ the first Informations of *Anne Boleyn's* P. 289.
“ Disorders, would not believe them;
“ but at last he found such Proofs, as fully
“ convinced him, upon which he waited,
“ till he found a fit opportunity, to let his
“ Jealousy break out.

It agrees ill with what he had said before, that *K. Henry* was become weary of *Anne Boleyn*, to make him now so uneasy to believe ill of her; for nothing disposes so much to Jealousy, as a Dislike already conceived, which naturally inclines one to think ill of a Person whom he does not love; but it is certain *K. Henry* never pretended, that he saw any thing, that was dishonourable in her: and the ridiculous Tale of the Tilling at *Greenwich* was a ly too ill contrived, to be again taken up; for the Queen's dropping a Handkerchief, was a favour of too publick a nature, and is not at all credible, considering that she found the King's affections were straying from her. And even that was too slight a matter, to have wrought her ruine, tho' it had been true.

„ 52 He

“ 52. He says, her own Father
 p. 250. “ was one of her Judges, but tho’ she
 “ made a cunning Defence, yet she
 “ was condemned together with four of her
 “ Adulterers, and after that she went to meet
 “ Death, with more of fierceness, than of a
 “ true greatness of Soul, and she died as exactly in
 “ all the Maxims of the Stoical Philosophy, as
 “ if she had studied them.

This assertion of her Father’s being one of her Judges, has past so current, that I have no reason to charge Mr. *Varillas* for it, because I my self yield to the current of Writers; yet having procured a sight of the Original Record of her Process, I found it was a falsehood, and in the end of my first Volume I had corrected the Errour in which I had fallen: so I must at least conclude, that Mr. *Varillas* never read any History. The Queen had a strange Plea, for there was not one Witness brought against her, so that she was condemned merely upon Testimonies that were brought in writing, which is expressly contrary to our Law. As for her Behaviour at her Death, it was far from being Stoical, for it was rather too cheerful; and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who knew her Behaviour better than any Person whatsoever gives a very different representation of it, for in his Letter to the Court he tells of her great Devotion, of her cheerfulness and of the protestations that she made of her Innocence the Morning before she died, when she received the Sacrament, adding, that her

her Almoner was still with her, and had been with her ever since two a clock after Midnight. And he also says, that she had much Joy and Pleasure in her Death. And as all this is very far from the Maximes of the Stoical Philosophy, so it seems Mr. *Varillas* understands very little what they were, otherwise, if he had remembred vvhat a picture he had made of *Anne Boleyn*, he must have knowvn, that the amorous disposition that he had fastned on her, agreed very ill vvith a Stoical Unconcernedness and equality of Temper. But this he thought vvas a pretty conclusion of one of the Scenes of his Piece.

And novv being as vveary of this ungrateful Employment, as any Reader, or as even Mr. *Varillas* himself must needs be, I find my self at great ease, being no more obliged to turn over so very ill a Book. And since in the Survey of one of the shortest of the ten Books, of vvch that Work consists, I have found so many capital Errours, in most of vvch there is a complication of divers Mistakes in the same Period ; to hovv much publick shame must Mr. *Varillas* be exposed, if those vvho are concerned, examine the other Books, as I have done this. I expect no other Justice from himself, but that he vvill reckon all this scorn, that such a Discovery must bring upon him, as a meritorious Suffering at the hands of Hereticks, and that he vvill use it as an Argument to raise his Pension. But it vvill be a great happiness if others can learn, tho' at his cost, to vvrite vvith more Truth and greater Caution. The

The design of all revealed Religion is, to heighten, in us those Seeds of Probity, Vertue and Gentleness, that are in our Nature, and I will not stick to say that it were better for Mankind, that there were no revealed Religion at all in being, and that humane Nature should be left to it self, than that there were such a sort of a revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles of Morality, and that instead of making men sincere, teaches them to be false, and instead of inspiring them with Love and Mercy, inflames them with Rage and Cruelty, and it is likely, that Mr. *Varillas* will easily find out, what that Society is, which I mean. For he deserves well to be at least one of the Lay-Brothers of the Order, if not to fill up Mr. *Maimbourg's* room, and then the Order will not lose by the change much of a quality, that has been believed to be almost an essential ingredient in its Constitution, which gave occasion to a very pleasant Passage, that, as I was told, fell out at *Amiens* within these 20 years.

All the Companies of Tradesmen in the Church of *Rome* choose a Saint for their Patron, and the many new invented Trades have put some Bishops to hard shifts to give proper Saints, which has produced some very ridiculous Patronages, for the Cooks have the Assumption, for their Feast, because the two first Syllables *assum* signifies roasted; and when the Needle-makers at *Paris* asked of the Cardinal *Gondy* a Patron, he could not easily find out a Saint that had any relation to their Trade, but he advised them to take All-Saints, for it could not be thought, but that some one or other of the Saints had made Needles; but the Bishop of *Amiens* gave *Ignatius Loyola* to be the Patron of the Packers, now the Word *emballeur*, as it signifies a Packer, it passes also for a Trapan; so the Packers being satisfied with the Bishop's nomination, had *Ignatius* upon his Day in a Procession, upon which the Jesuits were offended, to see their Patron pretended to by such a Company of Mechanicks, and sued the Packers upon it, they defended themselves upon the account of their Bishop's naming him to them, and when the Bishop was asked why he had given him for their

their Patron, he alluding to the other signification of the Word *emballeur* said, that he had observed that all the *emballeurs* of Europe were under that Saint's Patronage. But it is not necessary to infer from hence, that Mr. *Varillas* has a just claim to his protection, for tho' he seems to have very good inclinations, yet he wants the address that is necessary to recommend him to so refined a Society, and to a perfection in it, that cost Mr. *Maimbourg* a whole Jubily for a Novitiate; for tho' seven years is enough to learn an ordinary Trade, yet fifty is necessary to furnish a man with a sufficient stock of Impudence for so hardy an Employment.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

I Have at last found Card. *Cajetan's* Works, and am now confirmed in that, which was only a Conjecture, when I writ upon the 31st. Article, p. 141. for it is hard even to guess wrong, when it is in Contradiction to Mr. *Varillas*, and as the Reasons that he put in *Cajetan's* Mouth, had such manifest Characters of his own ignorance and hardness, that I could not so much as doubt of the Imposture, yet I was not positive, till I had taken some Pains to find out *Cajetan's* Works, and there I saw my Conjectures were well grounded. That Volume in which he delivers his Opinion in the matter of the Obligation of the Levitical Law concerning the degrees of Marriage, was writ long before this dispute of K. *Henry's* was started; for it is dedicated to Pope *Leo* the tenth. And instead of all those Impertinencies, with which Mr. *Varillas* calumniates him, and of which none less ignorant than himself, is capable, all that *Cajetan* says is that whereas *Thomas Aquinas* was of opinion, that those degrees were Moral, and of eternal obligation, he in his Commentary declares himself of another Mind, but takes a very backward Method to prove it, yet such as was suitable enough to the blindness of the time in which he writ; for he proves that they are not Moral, only because the Pope dispenced with them, who could not dispence with the Moral Law, and he gives for

2da 2da
quæst. 154.
Art. 9.

Moderna
quoque
Regina
Angliæ
consum-
maverat
prius ma-
trimonium
cum olim
fratre isti-
us Regis
Angliæ
sui mariti

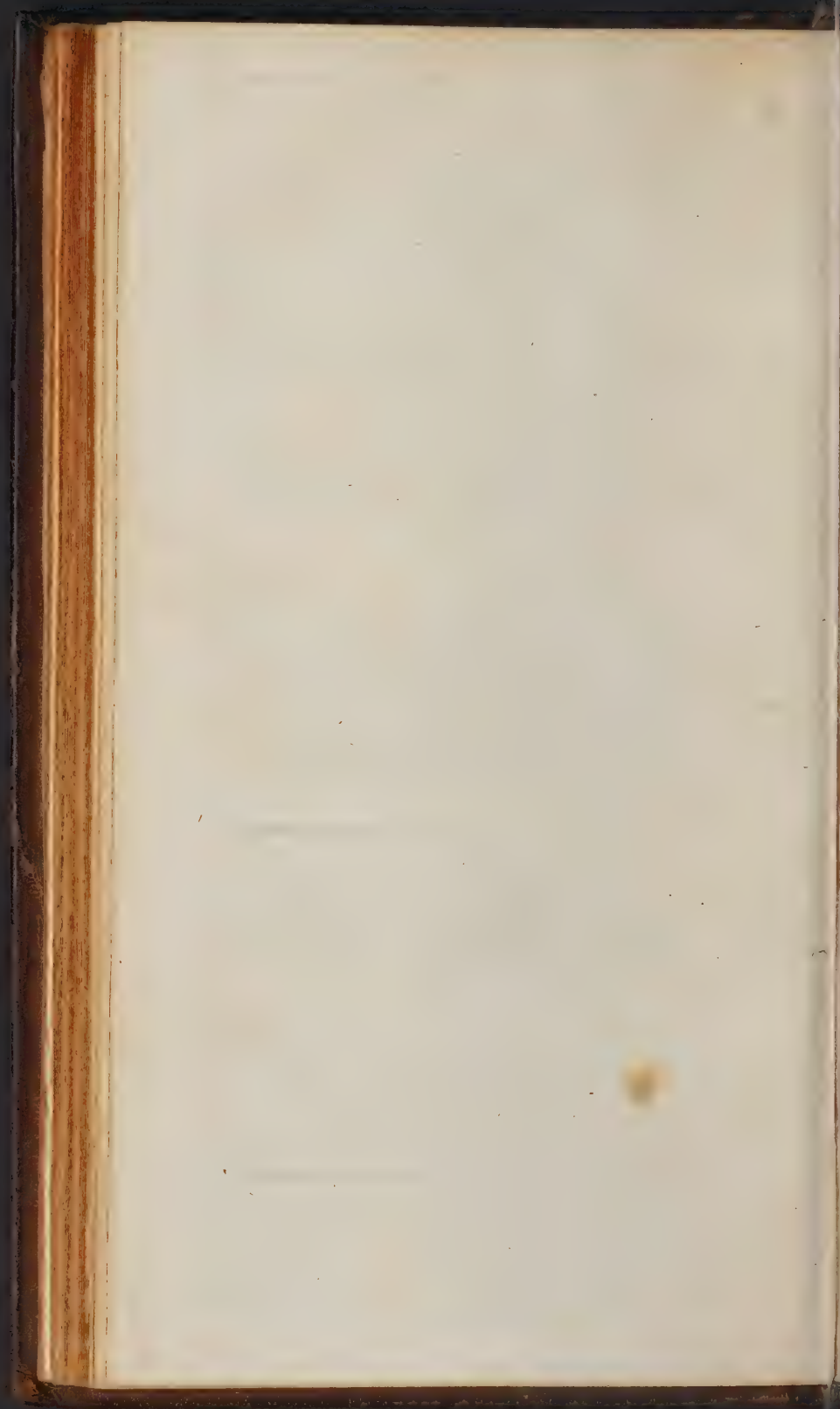
for instance the Marriage of the Kings of Portugal, to which he adds these Words, *The present Queen of England had likewise, consummated her former Marriage with the late Brother of the King of England her Husband.* So that *Cajetan* was only driven to this opinion, that he might justify the Practises of the Court of Rome. And it appears by what he says concerning it, that it was considered at Rome as an undoubted Truth, that the Queens first Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was consummated: and so it is sufficiently apparent how impudent Mr. *Varillas* is in the Abstract, that he charges on Cardinal *Cajetan's* Memory, it was far from his way of reasoning, to talk of Fleets blocking up *Constantinople*; but Mr. *Varillas*, who knows little of the past Time, and fancies that matters went formerly as they go now, had perhaps the low Estate in which the Ottoman Empire is at present, or the Bombarding of *Genoa* in his Eye, when he thought of the sending Fleets against *Constantinople* above 180 Years ago, but this speculation was as much out of *Cajetan's* way, as it is suitable to Mr. *Varillas*.

Page 158. He says, *K. Henry* the Eighth had opposed the Marriage of his Sister to the King of *Scotland*, with so much violence, that it brought on him several Fits of an Ague. But that Marriage being made in *August 1502*, the young Prince was not then eleven years old, and this is too early even for a Poet to make matters of State to have gone so deep into his thoughts, as that they endangered his Health. But as the Legends of Saints represent them in Extasies, before they have past their Childhood, so Mr. *Varillas* thought it suitable to the rest of his Poem, to represent *K. Henry* even in his Infancy as transported with the violence of impetuous Passions. But I am afraid I lay too much to his charge, since I do not believe that he had examined the history of his Life so critically, as to know even his Age; but it is a sad thing for an ignorant Man not to have a Chronological Table always before him.

A
DEFENCE
Of The
REFLECTIONS
On the
Ninth Book of the First Volum
OF
Mr. VARILLAS's
History of Heresies.
Being a REPLY to his ANSWER.

By G. BURNET, D.D.

AMSTERDAM,
Printed for J. S.
1 6 8 7.





The
A U T H O R ' S
A D V E R T I S E M E N T .

I Do not think it necessary to write any thing in the way of Preface to so short a Book ; but since there appeared a long Preface before the French Translation of my Reflections, to which Mr. Varillas has made some sort of Answer. The same worthy Person, having given himself the trouble to translate likewise my Reply thought it necessary to say somewhat in Defence of his former Preface : I have translated that into English, since it gives a further discovery of Mr. Varillas's sincerity.

The *Translator's* PREFACE,
Put in English.

I Had accused Mr. *Varillas* in the Preface which I had set before Dr. *Burnet's Reflections*, that he had in his *History of Heresies* contradicted several things which he had affirmed some years before that, in his *History of Wickliffianism*: for tho the two first Books of the former, are indeed the same work with the latter, as to the main parts of them; yet several considerable Alterations were observed to be between them: many things being left out in the *History of Heresies*, which were in that of *Wickliffianism*. To all this Mr. *Varillas* answers, in a few words; and says, 1. *That the History of Wickliffianism was printed without his knowledg.* 2. *That his Name was not prefixed to it.* 3. *That tho it contained indeed several things that were taken from him, yet it contained others that were none of his.* 4. *That he not only never owned that Book for his, but that he moved to have it suppressed: and that at his Instance an*
Order

P R E F A C E.

Order of Council was granted, for suppressing it, and for fining the Printer in 600. Livres: From all which he concludes, that he is not at all accountable for any thing that is in that Book: and that no Inferences ought to be drawn from it to his prejudice.

It is true, that it cannot be proved that Mr. *Varillas* sold the Copy to *Certe*, the Merchant of *Lions*: but it is certain, that he pay'd dear for it; and that the Copy that was sold him, was very clean writ; and that there were some Marginal Notes writ upon it, by another hand, tho these were not indeed of great Consequence: The Stationer was also so much scandalised, when he saw, that *John Hus* was represented so advantageously, and that the Council of *Constance* was so ill spoke of, that he intended to have altered the Copy a little; but in that he was not left to his Liberty. The Book was printed, and sold publickly, both at *Lions* and *Grenoble*, for some considerable time: and it passed generally for Mr. *Varillas's* Book, both among the *Roman Catholicks*, and the *Protestants*: The more moderate of the

P R E F A C E.

Roman Catholicks, recommended the Book to the *Protestants*, as an Evidence to convince them, that there were *Writers* in their Church, that even in Matters of Consequence, durst say the Truth very boldly. Nor was it then so much as pretended by any person whatsoever, that there were any Passages foisted in, which were not of the Authors Writing. The Book was not only looked on as writ by *Mr. Varillas*, in the remoter *Provinces*, but even in *Paris* it self it past for his: and this report went so current, that *Mr. la Rogue* spoke of it in his *Journal* last year, as a thing of which no doubt had been made: for he tells us, That *Mr. Varillas* begins his two first Books with the History of *Wickliff*, of *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, which had already appeared in several Impressions, under the Title of the History of *Wickliffianism*. So that it is certain, that the Order of Council which *Mr. Varillas* procured against the Printer of *Lions*, for suppressing that Book, made no great noise at *Paris*, otherwise the Author of the *Journal* would

10. *Journal*
p. 170. of the
Amsterd.
Edition.

P R E F A C E.

would have heard of it.

The *Preface* that was set before the Edition at *Lions*, is indeed writ by one, who says, that the Author would not give his consent to the printing of the Book: and for that reason, he does not set his Name before it: but he does not say a word of any Additions that are made to it; tho he shews himself to be both so zealous for his Religion, and so full of esteem for Mr. *Varillas*, that it is not probable that he would have suffered any Additions to be made, especially such as those that were marked in the former *Preface*. On the contrary, tho he says, he will not answer, but that there may be some Faults in the Printing, yet he affirms, that none will be found that contradict the Truth of the History. I will not be so malicious, as to say, that it is probable this *Preface* was of Mr. *Varillas*'s own composing; since it is not likely that there are many besides himself that think so well of him, as the Writer of that *Preface* does: and the Artifice of Printing Books, by the Authors *themselves*, and yet in the Name of *another*, as if their

A 4 consent

P R E F A C E.

consent was not obtained, is so common, that Mr. *Varillas* may think, that he escapes well, if he is not charged with fouler and more inexcusable Impostures than this is. But it is certain, that all those Additions, which Mr. *Varillas* does now reject, are writ in the same stile with the rest of the work, and no man that is acquainted with his way of writing, will think, that if he had intended to have said those things, which he now disowns, he would have expressed himself in other Terms. And besides all this, he cannot think it is enough to say, that *there are some things in the History of Wickliffianism, that are taken out of his Book*; since the whole Body of the Work is word for word the same, excepting those alterations: So that if he would express himself with any sort of sincerity, he ought to have said, *that these two Books weere indeed his*. But since he does not think fit to own those passages, that are now struck out, he ought only to have added, *that some Additions were put into the former Editions without his knowledge*; instead of setting this matter down so inde-

P R E F A C E.

indefinitely as he has done, by which he pretends to cover himself, and to disavow whatsoever passages are objected to him, as he shall think it convenient for him to do. But it is now a little too late, for Mr. *Varillas* to make use of this Excuse: and let him say what he will, he must at least justify himself for all that is in his *History of Heresies*. An Ingenious *Author* has lately shewed him, that he has now rendred himself accountable for the former Book, even with all the Faults that were in it. Let him defend himself as he can: but let him not fancy that he will escape a second time, by casting the blame of the Faults that are now in this Edition, as well as they were in the former, over on the *Printers* or *Book-sellers*.

As for the *Order of Council*, it is so far from proving, that the *History of Wickliffianism* was none of his, as Mr. *Varillas* pretends, that it proves the contrary very clearly; for otherwise how could he have obtained it, but by affirming that it was a Book of his, and that a Copy of it was stolen from him. On what other ground could the *Merchant*

P R E F A C E.

chant of *Lions* have been fined: for he had obtained the Licence for printing it, both of the Kings *Advocat* and his *Attorney*, according to the Custom, which is printed at the end of the *Preface*, signed by them both: and it is certain, that such a *Licence* as this, was sufficient to secure the *Stationer* against all prosecution at the Kings suite: nor could Mr. *Varillas* found his complaint upon any other ground, but this; *that he was the Author of the Book*; since he could not prosecute the *Stationer* for printing another mans Book.

There is another reason which Mr. *Varillas* will not easily answer, that shews him to be the Author of all those retracted Passages; which is, that it is well known, that no man in *France* could be inclined, from any consideration of Interest, to magnify *John Hus*, or to decry the *Council of Constance*: on the contrary, this would have been of very ill Consequence to them, and might have brought them into great trouble: so that men will be inclined rather to think, that at first Mr. *Varillas* writ his own true sentiments

P R E F A C E.

ments touching *John Hus* and that *Council*, which afterwards he thought fit to suppress, when he saw how much prejudice this might bring him: A man is easily believed when he writes against his Interest, but if it appears, that a man has either a design to raise himself, or at least to preserve himself, the world is too ill-natured, not to suspect all that he can say, let him use what terms soever he will, when it once appears that these are his motives: especially if there is any other occasion given to suspect his sincerity: and in a word, all his complaints of the *Printer of Lions*, and even the *Order of Council* and *Fine*, will pass with jealous people, but as a Collusion, so that after all, I do very much apprehend, that the greatest part of his *Readers*, will still believe him to be accountable for those suppressed passages, whether he will or not; chiefly when they consider, that there was an effectual means, by which *Mr. Varrillas* might have cleared himself of those Imputations, of which he has not made any use: and that was, the refuting by good Evidences all those

Addi-

P R E F A C E.

Additions, that were in the *Edition of Lions*; and the disproving them by solid Reasons. For it is not enough barely to affirm the contrary, especially in this case, in which it cannot be denied, but that there are still specious enough Reasons, to induce us to believe them, notwithstanding his bare Denial.

A DEFENCE

A D E F E N C E
Of the
REFLECTIONS

On the Nin'th Book of
Mr. Varillas's History of Heresies;
Being a Reply to his Answer.

MR. Varillas has given me in his *Title Page* all possible grounds to expect foul dealing from him; for tho the *Titles* of *Books* are too publick to be falsified; yet he that will be thought an Original in so many other things, it seems resolved to begin with one that is a little extraordinary; for common Impositions are below him. I had entituled my Book, *Reflections on his History of Heresies*, and more particularly on his ninth Book, and he gives it a new Title, as if it had been a *Critick on the*

B

two

two first Tomes of his History of the
Revolutions that have hapned

P. 8. in Europe in the matters of
Religion: This was not a failure of Memory, but a studied Imposture: for he represents my design as if it had been against his whole Work, and upon that he charges me for having singled out only some particulars, of which he mentions a few: and adds, *that tho all these were errors, his first ten Books would deserve still to be believed, since his mistakes were only matters of small consequence, and in this there was nothing but that to which any man was subject.* But when I undertook only to examin his ninth Book, if I have discovered, that all that relates to *England* is a contexture of falsehoods, then I am sure I have quite overthrown one of his ten Books; and by overthrowing that, I have very much shaken the credit of all the other nine: since the Faults that I charge on him, are not only some small mistakes, but a series of Impostures: and the greatest of all is, that he pretends to cite Vouchers which are not in being. I will not say that his Errors
are

Mr. Varillas.

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are more than what any man is subject to: but I do not know any man that has ever committed so many: Mr. Varillas charges me for writing against him in so barbarous a manner, keeping none of the Rules of Decency: and to let the World see how little he knows the things which he cites, he says, that the two most passionate Criticks of any Age, Scaliger and Schoppius, observed these with great exactness; but for him, he is resolved to play the part of a Christian, and so he will only answer the things in which Truth is concerned, without regarding those that relate to himself. I kept all the measures that I thought became a Christian, with relation to his Person: nor have I said one word of him, but as he is a Writer. I have not sent to Paris, to have a series of his life transmitted to me; on the contrary, when some here had offered me, while I writ my Reflections, some particulars that were to his prejudice, I would not hearken to them; for I said, I would only examine Mr. Varillas as he was an Author, but not as he was a Man or a Christian.

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stian.

ſian. I confeſs, the confidence with which he aſſerts ſo many Impoſtures, gave me a juſt Indignation againſt him, ſo that I reſolved to ruin his credit as he was an *Hiſtorian*, becauſe I ſaw he deſerved it ſo very ill, and made ſo bad a uſe of it: but if he expects, that I meaſure his being a *Chriſtian* by this *Answer*, I will have as bad an opinion of him that way, as I have of him in the quality of an *Hiſtorian*. He ſays, *I have cut off*

P.5. *and ſuppreſt, and changed his words, that ſo I might repreſent them as I thought fit*: But in that I appeal to the Reader. I did not think fit to reprint all he had writ, nor will I now reprint his *Answer*, as he has done my *Reflections*. I have indeed deſired my Printer to reprint it by it ſelf, if he finds his account in it: and I think that is ſufficient. I confeſs, I cannot enough wonder at his printing of mine, ſince it diſcovers too plainly the defects of his *Answer*; and I am apt to think that his Printer has engaged him to it, as a thing that would have a good appearance. In this the Printer did wiſely: for he was ſure his Book would

go off the better; but Mr. *Varillas* did a greater kindness to his Stationer than to himself. Nor do I believe, that he intended it at first; for there are some parts of my *Reflections* so falsly represented by him in his *Answer*, that I cannot believe he would have done it, if he had then intended to have printed my *Reflections*: otherwise I must conclude, that his judgment and his sincerity are both of a piece: for Instance, could a man, that had intended to have printed what I had said, concerning the *Lord Darnley, being the next*

Heir after Queen Mary to the Crown of England, so that he might have been a dangerous competitor to her in that Succession, he having been born and bred in England.

Could, I say, this man pretend that I had affirmed, that the *Lord Darnley* was a dangerous Competitor to her for the Crown of *Scotland*, and his putting that in the Citation he makes of my words, instead of the Crown of *England*, would appear strange in any other, but in him such strains are so common, that I am not surpris'd at this; yet he has the Impudence to

triumph upon it, and to spend some Pages to shew that her Title was undisputed. I find many more Instances of the like foul dealing, which makes me conclude, that *Mr. Varillas* did not design at first to print my *Reflections*: and besides this, he copies out sometimes half Pages of my Words, which he would not have done, if he had intended to have given them entire to the Reader: for they are not so much to his advantage, that he had reason to desire that they should be twice read.

He tells the world, that if he had a mind to imitate my passionate way of writing, and if he would write my life, ever since I was Chaplain to My Lady Dutchess of Hamilton, to this present time, that I am by my fault become a Citizen of Holland, he would write things so singular, that they would make his Answer the most agreeable Book that had been printed of a great while For this I know there have been men at work both in Scotland and England, to furnish *Mr. Varillas* with materials to defame me; and because I will conceal nothing that I know

know that is to his honour, I was informed that he writ back to *England*, that he would not medle with those personal things; and that he wisht, that instead of these, they would send him good *Memorials* relating to the matters in dispute between him and me. This was to act like a fair Enemy, I confess. But I do not say this to bespeak his Favour, that so he may not print all those Informations that were sent to him from a *Society*, that having forged them, had a mind to put another on publishing them. Let him print them when he will; for I am not afraid of all the hurt they can do me: and indeed, if one may judge of this *Epocha* of my life, by the two *Periods* here mentioned, the writing upon such Informations may very well agree with *Mr. Varillas's* other *Histories*; for these may be Authors of as good credit, for ought I know, as his *Florimond de Raymond* was. I was never Chaplain to the *Dutchess of Hamilton*; I do not deny this, as judging it any diminution to me, if it had been true: for I do honour both her Person and Family so much, that I would rather value my

self upon it, if I had been ever in her Family: but I never was Caplain to any Subject; I was Chaplain to the late King, but to no other. The last Period passes my apprehension; *Mr. Varillas* reproaches me for the Meanness and Flatness of my *Stile*: for he that penetrates into so many Secrets, that never were, can even judge of an *English stile* by a translation: yet since that he is the first who has reproached me for so very bad a stile, I ought to bear this the more patiently: but since he fancies, that he has attained the *Sublime* of stile, I would gladly know to which of all *Longins* rules, this expression belongs, that *by my fault I am become a Citizen of Holland*. *By my fault* seems so only placed here, and a *Citizen of Holland* is so strang a way of expressing my being *naturalised* by the *States*, and would intimate as if *Mr. Varillas's* ignorance went so far as to fancy that *Holland* was a *City*; that since there are two sorts of *Sublimes*, the one of *Nonsense*, and the other of *Eloquence*, I will not take upon me to judge to which of these this belongs. For it is too great a presumption in one whose
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Mr. Varillas.

9

style is so low as mine, to examine the flights of so elevated a Writer. As for the rest of this Memoire, I am very little concerned whether he print it or not. I have behaved myself so of late, as to shew that I am neither afraid of any discoveries that can be made, nor disturbed at any Calumnies, by which my Enemies may endeavour to blacken me: and as I had much rather have *Mr. Varillas* print all that has been sent him concerning me, than to publish it up and down *Paris*: so whatever he thinks fit to say of me, shall be either treated by me with the silent scorn, that an ill made Lye deserves, or shall be answered as the matter may happen to require it.

But before I enter into any more particular enquiries, I will in general state the whole matter, as it lies between *Mr. Varillas* and my self: and then I will leave it even to the judgment of a Reader that may be partial of his side. He had published two Volumes of *the Revolutions that have happened in Europe, in the matters of Religion*: and with Relation to *English Affairs* he had pretended in his Preface,

B 5

face,

face, that he did found that part of his Work on *Card. de Bellay's Letters*, besides several other Papers that he cited on the Margin of his ninth *Book*: but he had given no intimations where any of these were to be found: I had on the other hand writ the *History* of that time, in which I not only cited many *Original Papers*, but had likewise printed the most important of them, and had also told where they were to be found: as for those which I have cited from publick *Records*, they are accessible to all the World, for the greatest part: and for those that are not to be come at but by a Warrant under the *Kings* hand, that is so easily had, and would be so readily granted at present, that I may with some degrees of just assurances say, that I ought to be believed till it can be made appear that I have been guilty of any Imposition in those Citations: and the stir that has been made of late to supply *Mr. Varillas* with matter against me, and the meanness of those Objections with which they have furnished him, gives me reason to conclude, that they know they cannot accuse me of Fraud.

or Forgery, in any of my Citations: as for the other *Original Papers*, that I mention, they are either in the *Cotton Library* in *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Cambridge*, or in some other private Hands: but I have cited all these so particularly, as to tell whether my Vouchers were *Originals* or *Copies*; and have told so exactly where those of the *Cotton Library* may be found, that a man cannot be a minute there, without being able to discover, whether I have cited sincerely or not. I had also in my *History* confined my self so severely to the materials with which I was furnished, that I resolved not to add one Tittle to that which appeared clearly to me to be well verified: and tho Mr. *Varillas* reproaches me, for *writing so superficially, and for mentioning only publick e-* P. 26.
vents; yet I am not ashamed to own that where authentick Proofs failed me: I would not impose upon my Readers so far, as to give them my Imaginations for true History; where I am forced to guess, I warn my Reader of it; and when the grounds on
B 6 which

which I went seemed to me only probable, I advertised my Reader likewise of it: so that I writ my *History* with the same scrupulous exactness, that I would have used, if I had been required to give a deposition upon Oath before a Judge. This being the case, I do not pretend to be believed upon my own Word: I do not say, the

P. 29. *state of the Records and Libraries is altered since I writ; I*

do not pretend that I saw many Papers in confidence, so that I cannot

Ibid. not in honour discover where they are. I will not say, that

Mr. *Varillas* proves himself to be an Impostor by such pretences; but I am sure this is the method that an *Impostor* would use: and whenever I pretend to excuse my self in this manner, I am content to pass for one. His defence of himself from the four thousand citations of *Du Tillet*, and *Peter du Puy*, that are now all found to be

P. 28. false, tho he says, it is as certain they were all true when those

Eminent Authors writ, is another of his *Sublime* strains: for if they are now false, they were false at all times: but
if

if a man that has so low a stile as mine is, dares offer to correct him, I crave leave to tell him, that he should have said, that *tho the proofs of those Citations cannot now be found, yet there is good reason to believe that those Authors cited them sincerely.* This I guess to be his meaning, tho his *sublime* wants sometimes a little clearness: but it is very probable, that if those Authors had been called to an account for their Citations, they could have answered for themselves in another manner than Mr. Varillas has done. I confess, when I heard that he was writing an *Answer* to my *Reflections*, I could not imagine where he could attack me: I knew I had Authentick proofs for all that I had laid to his charge; yet I fancied he might have seen some *Letters* of that time, in which those matters had been represented as he relates them: For false newes are writ at all times, and from all Courts: and if he had been able to justify himself by such Vouchers, this would have saved his own Reputation, tho the proofs I had given to the contrary, would have had still force enough to discredit his *History*: I

fancied at least that he would have cited some of *Cardinal de Bellay's Letters*: But I was surpris'd when I received his *Answer*, and saw, that instead of all these Authorities, of which he had boasted, that the only two *Authors* that he cites, are *Florimond de Raimond*, and *himself*; the two worst Writers that he could find: if in his *Preface* he had owned that he

P. 265. had done nothing, but copied *Florimond de Raimond*; that

283. he was his *Warrant*; that his

323. Testimony was the *authentick Proof* of what he affirmed; and that he himself was only

423. *Florimond de Raymond's Echo*; if, I say, he had owned in his *Preface* all this, then I acknowledg, that I had no reason to complain of him, since he justifies himself by so many Pages cited from that Author, that they make the half of his *Answer*; but since he pretends to write upon *Original Papers*, and yet does not cite any one, I leave it to all indifferent men to conclude, what account is to be hereafter made of all the *Histories* that either has come or can come from him:

him: let him print his Vouchers, or at least, let him tell where they may be found; otherwise I will take the liberty to tell him, that all his *Histories* are *Romances*, which he has drawn as to the matters of Fact out of the worst Authors, and the most decried of any that had writ in the last Age; and to which he adds a refining of Policy, such as his own Invention could furnish; so that without the least aggravation, I do affirm, that one may seek the History of *Alexander the Great*, or of *Augustus*, in the *Romances* of *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*, with as much assurance as the *History of the Reformation* in Mr. *Varillas*: all the difference between him and those Romantick Writers being, that they built indeed on good Authors, upon which they grafted their own fictions, yet in such a manner that no body could be deceived by them: whereas Mr. *Varillas* has founded his *Romance* on very bad Authors, and he delivers his Fictions with such an air of sincerity, as may very probably deceive those who believe too easily. So that I see nothing that is left for him, to preserve that small remnant of Reputation.

putation that it seems a *Coquelin*, or some few of *his Friends*, retain yet for him; but to own that he intended not to write *true Histories*, but only to amuse the World with a new sort of *Nouvelles*: in which the point at which he aimed, was not to tell truth; but that as the Writers of Plays or Romances, think the best way to work upon the passions, is to dress up known Storys with moving Circumstances, since men are not so apt to be affected when all is Fiction; so he fancied, that he could not raise a Rage against *Heresy*, and an admiration of that conduct that has driven it out of *France*, by any other method so successfully, as by this that he has taken. It, I say, he will betake himself to this Defence. I will pursue him no further; but till he is so sincere as to confess his Impostures, I will take the pains yet once more to unmask him, and after I have laid him open for this *Answer*, as well as for the *second Volum* of his *History*, then I shall take leave of him: and will promise him, that for ought I know, I will never write more against him; for this one good reason, which is, that
I will

I will never read one word of his Writings any more; and now I doubt not but I shall make him to be so well known, that to turn his Approver in Mr. *Coquelins* words a little altered, *His works will need no more to be decried; for the bare name of the Author will be beyond all that can be said for their disparagement.* I confess, I cannot imagin what a sort of a man Mr. *Coquelin* is, whose approbation accompanies all Mr. *Varillas*'s late Works; for it seems he cannot find another that is so complying, and therefore he does not change his man. I fancy Mr. *Coquelin* must be profoundly learned in the *Oriental Tongues*, or in the *Mathematicks*; for these are the studies in the World, that are most opposite to that of *History*; therefore I conclude, that Mr. *Varillas* comes to him as to the person in the whole *Sorbon*, that is the most unacquainted with late Transactions: and perhaps he finds him resolving some Probleme, or reading some *Arabick* Manuscript; and as all men, tho addicted to one sort of study, yet are willing to be thought universal; so no doubt Mr. *Coquelin* hopes
to

to pass for a good Judge in *History*, by approving Mr. *Varillas's* Books: but he will do better to go on in the course of his other studies, in which he may be very Eminent for ought I know; but I am sure he is a very ill Judge of the History of the last Age. I shall not take the pains to examin all that recital that Mr. *Varillas* makes of the *Pensions* that have been offered to him; and that have been refused by him. I will believe them all for once: and this is a great matter for me to do, since he himself is the only Author of this piece of his own *History*; for his Credit is not very authentic with me; but all that can be made out of this, is, that he had once gained some Reputation, as a man that had discovered many Secrets, and that had penetrated into many Intrigues; all which he has made a shift now to lose; for as long as he went about the *Ruelles* of *Paris*, those things might perhaps pass with less exact Judges; but now that he will carry his Visions further, he is not like to be solicited on all hands by the offers of *Pensions* any more: so he must now try to keep up the value of his Books; for the sale
of

of them, being perhaps the only revenue that is left him; he must maintain their credit better than he has done, otherwise both they and he will sink in their price. It is not the Dedicating his Books to a great *Monarch*, that will support their Reputation. It seems he fancies, that those poor Flatteries that he has offered up at that Altar, give him such a pretension to a protection from thence, that he may boldly invite that *Prince* to be a Witness to this Dispute of his with me; not considering how much it is below the Sublimity of such a *Monarch*, to be appealed to on so mean an occasion: It is a forgetting the respect due to crowned Heads, to run to them with every trifle: but Mr. *Varillas* will needs engage the *King* in the Quarrel, and represent himself as his Champion, not doubting but that this his Zeal for his Glory will receive some Eminent Reward; yet if the reward is proportioned to the service that is done, it will not go far: and as it seems the *Jesuites* have desired Mr. *Varillas* not to meddle with the concerns of their Order; for they are too good Judges not
to

to know that the services of so decried an *Author*, are Injuries rather than Favours; so it is not to be doubted, but those two Eminent men, who have consecrated their pens to their Princes Honour, will be moved with a just Indignation when they see how poorly it is defended by Mr. *Varillas*;

P. 20. and that they will procure an Order, prohibiting him to medle with Subjects that are so far above him.

But it is very likely, that this precaution will be needless: and that he will quickly bring himself as low in the esteem of the World, as it seems he is high in his own. For not contented

to tell the World, that *he*
P. 26. *rises above the Vulgar*, and that he has studied to imitate the Antients, leaving, as in a Region below him, such *poor Writers as I am*, to be reckoned among the *Historians of the lower form*, as if all this were too little, he will carry his own Commendations further: and since this ingrateful Age does not pay him the esteem it owes him, he will make all that up in a most superlative value that
he

he puts on himself. He is not satisfied to compare himself to *Tacitus*, but thinks *the Characters that he gives are even Superiour to those of Tacitus*. I will not disturb him in the peaceable possession of those good thoughts that he has of his own productions, in which I believe he has few rivals: but as for that small disposition that I once had to think well of them,

with which he reproaches me P. 90.
sometimes, he has so fully convinced me of my mistake, that 433.

he has quite cured me of it; I had softened a severe censure I put on his works, by saying, that *his writings wanted none of the beauties of History, but that of truth*; where the Incense that I gave in the former part of the Period, was intended to carry some mitigation to the sharpness of the latter part of it; but as one that is extremely in love with himself, misrepresents even the reproofs given him, as if they had been praises; so he turns this as if I had said, *that he wanted none of the qualities of a good Historian, without adding any expression of that of truth*; yet because I confess my words
gave

gave some occasion to this mistake, and since I would not be willingly guilty of any thing that may encrease his distemper, I do now acknowledg, that I writ these words too carelessly, and that I shewed more good breeding than exactness in them. But to let him see how apt I am to confess my Faults, and to retract them, I do acknowledg that he has so fully convinced me of my error, that I am now like to fall into the other extream, and to allow him none of the *beauties of History*, unless it be a smooth way of telling his dreams; for there is as little judgment as there is truth in what he writes. I hope he is now satisfied with my sincerity in this confession; and to shew him how sensible I am of my former error, I shall take great care in all time coming, not to commend him beyond what I think is due to him, and then I am sure I shall be very sparing, and will praise his works as little as those learned men at *Paris* do, who begin now to speak out to the world that which they said to me in discourse, while I had the honour to see them. Mr. *Hosier's* Letter is no
great

great sign of his admiring Mr. *Varillas*, as much as it seems he himself does; and tho I do not think fit to name the persons that gave me those ill impressions of his works, for P. 30. which he reproaches me, yet I do not doubt but some of them will name themselves too soon perhaps for his honour. A man is indeed tempted by the confidence with which Mr. *Varillas* proposes his Fictions to the world, to express his Indignation in terms that are perhaps sharper than is fitting: and this carried me into a smartness in my *Reflections* upon him, that had never appeared in any of my other writings: the Cause, the present conjuncture of Affairs, and the reputation that Mr. *Varillas* had gained, seemed to require it: but now I do assure him, that how much raillery or contempt soever he may find in my *Reply* to him, he shall meet with no mixture of anger. I must put a little salt and seasoning in a writing of this nature: for it is a dull business to go on in a Flat strain like his, and only to say *this is False*, and *that is Impudent*, and to sprinkle here and there a
course

course piece of raillery. I will therefore make my self and my Reader a little merry with him : for a very bad entertainment must be set off with guarnishings : And Mr. *Varillas's* errors and his ignorance exposed to the world, would make but an ill *Regale*, if they were not quickned with a little humour.

A very short *Answer* carrys off all that is material in this Book; for the only Authority that is brought being *Florimond de Raymond*; as soon as I have shewed how little credit is due to him, then the substance of his whole *Answer* is examined : he lived at *Bordeaux* far from *England*, and from the knowledg of *English Affairs* : he had no sort of Instruction relating to our matters, but what he drew from *Sanders*, whose *Eccho* he was, as much as now Mr. *Varillas* is his. So that since *Sanders* was the *Text* upon which both he and all the other Writers of the *Roman Communion* had only enlarged, I had reason to conclude, that the overthrowing *Sanders's* credit, did at the same time refute all the other *Authors* that had copied him. And I had done
this

this so effectually, that no man has since that time pretended to justify *Sanders*. I do not think every man is bound to read my Book; yet I may say, that every man that goes to write upon those matters, is bound to read it, and either to discover that the *Authorities* upon which I have founded my *History*, are false, or to forsake those common Mistakes that Forreigners had taken up on *Sanders's* Authority. It is no excuse for a man that has followed those Authors to say, *that such a man had said those things before him*; unless it appears, that the Voucher was both well informed, and that he was a sincere and dispassionate man. Now as *Florimond de Raymond* had no particular Informations of our Affairs, so a man sees in every period of his *History*, so much of a malignant spirit against the *Reformation*, that this gives a just Prejudice against all that he says: and if I have proved beyond a possibility of Contradiction, that the relations that he gives must be false, they will not become true because a *Florimond*, or a *Varillas* from him, have affirmed

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them

them. As for that part of *Florimond's History*, which relates to the affairs of *England*, it is not so much as pretended to be writ by him : for the contrary is expressly intimated in the Preface, & his *Son* seems to claim the praise of that to himself. But upon the whole matter, it is first very much doubted, whether he was at all the Author of those Books that passed under his name. For many have said, that *F. Richeome* a *Jesuite* writ them, and borrowed the name of a Councillour of Parliament to give his work the more credit : perhaps it was thought necessary to set a Writer of some name in opposition to Mr. *de Thou*, whose *History* was writ with too much sincerity to be acceptable to that Order. *Peter Mathieu* in his *History* says positively, that it was believed that *F. Richeome* was the Author of the Books that went under the name of *Florimond de Raimond*. *Viguier* in his *Theater of Antichrist*, and *Rivet* in his *Answer to the Jesuite*, say the same thing : and these were men that writ soon after *Florimond's* Books appeared. *Blondel* was also of the same mind ; and tho he agreed with the
pre-

pretended *Florimond* concerning the Falseness of the Story of *Pope Joan*, upon which he had also writ a Book; yet he spends forty pages towards the end of his Book, to shew how poorly *Florimond* had disproved it, and lays him open in a vast number of errors, that he had committed, of which some are extream absurd. It is true, some of the Writers of the *Church of Rome* have magnified him highly: a man that writ so passionatly for them, could not fail of this: so no wonder if *Possavin* and *Gretzer* cry him up: and we see by a Letter of *Card. Baronius*, (published by *Mr. Colomies*) writ to *Florimond de Raimond*, how highly he valued him, and that he looked on him as a most extraordinary person. But all this will not prevail much on those who knew the genius of those Writers, and how apt they were to magnify every one that was passionate in their cause. Yet these praises given him by strangers, could not raise his reputation in *France*, where he never passed for a Writer of any note, either for judgment or sincerity: and he was as little esteemed in the quality of a Judge, as he

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deserves

deserves to be for his writings; for the Character that was given of him, was no less severe than pleasant: *Judicat sine conscientia, libros scribit sine scientia, & aedificat sine pecunia*: He judges without conscience, he writes Books without knowledge, and builds without money. And now this is the Hero of *Mr. Varillas*, upon whose Testimony he triumphs: and he who perhaps a year ago, would have resented it, as the greatest indignity that could have been done him, if it had been said, that he did nothing but copy such an Author, and that he was only his *Eccho*, is now glad to fly to so poor a shift; for which he is, as I hear, so much censured in *Paris*, that it is perhaps too great a cruelty in me to urge this matter too far. Yet *Mr. Varillas* has a sublim tour in every thing, so that instead of setting before us the reasons that led him to depend upon such an Author, which might pass with the world, such, as that he was well informed, and that he was free of passion: he gives one, which indeed no man besides himself would ever have thought on: he tells us, that he had
a Wife

a Wife and Children : now P. 157.

it is not easy to find out the force of this Argument : but a man must rise above the Vulgar as much as Mr. Varillas, to comprehend his lofty strains. If to have Wife and Children makes a man a good Writer, one may conclude without any further enquiry, that Mr. Varillas has neither. Here is also a new Argument for the *Marriage of the Clergy*, that has never been yet thought on, yet an ordinary capacity like mine, cannot comprehend why this should have made *Florimond de Raimond* a good Writer, and why it had not the same effect on *Mr. de Thou*. So I think I have said enough concerning this *Councillour of Bourdeaux*, and his Wife and Children.

There are two other general Considerations, which I will propose before I enter into P. 364, 366, the more particular re- 380.

view of his *Answer* : He argues in several places against matters that I had proved by the most Authentical Evidences possible ; and from some Improbabilities he pretends to overthrow what I had said : and in one place he

thinks he argues strongly, when he says; *I cannot shew him an Instance that the like ever fell out before*: an Impossibility is indeed a very good answer to all the Proofs that can be brought: and such are the evidences by which I overthrow the Calumnies thrown on *Anne Bullen*: but Improbabilities ought never to be set against Positive Proofs: for men are so apt to be guided by Humour and Caprice, and are sometimes so blinded by passion and Interest, that they do often depart from all the Rules both of Prudence and Decency: nor is it a Reason to be alledged by any, but Mr. *Varillas*, that such things cannot be true, because I cannot shew the like instance in any other History. For supposing that were true, every Age, as it produces Originals, so affords new Subjects of Amusement: for Instance, it may seem incredible that a man could have writ so many *Books of History* as Mr. *Varillas* has done, in which he mentions nothing less than *Letters, Instructions, and other Original Papers*; and this in an Age in which men are not easy nor Implicit, but love to examin Matters, and that also upon Subjects

Subjects of *Religion*, in which it was probable, that some men might call him to an account; and that yet this man, when called to an account, should not cite one of all these *Papers*, but should build only on a doubted and despised *Author*: and that when he had reason to think, that his other Writings might be critically examined, he went on in the same careless and bold strain; a man may argue very strongly, that this cannot be true; and it is certain, that Mr. *Varillas* cannot give an Instance that the like ever fell out before; yet after all, the thing is true; so that Improbabilities may be justly set against Probabilities; but they are unreasonably urged against Positive proofs. Truth is Truth still, tho it had never fallen out but once; as Mr. *Varillas* is an Original; for there was never an Author before him that carried on Impostures in Matters of *History* so impudently as he has done.

Mr. *Varillas* cites likewise many passages out of his other Books, to shew that *P. 27, 92, 225,*
 he was not ignorant *86, 244, 201,*
 of those things for *374.*

which I charge him, and which contradict what he has writ in his *History of Heresies*: but first, I do assure him, I have not read his other Books with so much exactness as to remember all that is in them. I was indeed at first surpris'd, with the many Discoveries that he seem'd to make; but I very quickly made another Discovery, that destroy'd them all: and found, that he was a Writer of *Romances*, and not of *true Histories*, unless it be in that sense in which *Lucian* uses that Title: so I am nothing concerned in his other *Books*, but intend only to destroy his Credit, which, I think my self as much oblig'd to do, as to discover a false *Coyner*: If he has writ differently in his other *Books*, from what he writes in this, I am not bound to receive or bear all his Contradictions: and from this very thing, by which he pretends to justify himself, he destroys his own Credit; for if he had writ upon good Instructions, all would have been Uniform: for Truth is ever the same, and does not change faces: but a man that writes his own Visions, cannot carry always along with him all his Dreams: and there-

therefore he fits them to the present occasion ; so that his having reported them in another manner in some of his other *Books*, does not at all justify him, but gives a further discovery of his *Romantick Impostures*.

I now come to a more particular Enquiry, and shall hereafter follow him more closely; but I will represent only the most Eminent of the Impertinencies that are in his *Book*, and strike the Eye; for to search after all, were both endless and needless.

I. He will needs justify his view of *Heresy*, delivered in a prophetic stile, from *Titus Livius's* P. 44. beginning; who only tells what he intended to do himself: which any Writer besides Mr. *Varillas* may very well do; for those who write upon true Information, know what they go about; but an *Author of Romances* cannot so easily fore-tel this: I do not quarrel with him for telling what he intended to do himself, but for representing the progress of *Heresy* in a fore-telling stile. It seems his Acquaintance among the *Roman Authors* is equal to his Knowledge of *Manuscripts*; otherwise he could

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have

have found others that had begun their Works as *Livy* does, without going so far down as to *St. Jerome*; and if that *Father* had not done the Church more service in writing on the *Scriptures*, than he did in the writing of *Lives*, his Authority would be as small as Mr. *Va- villas* ought to be.

II. I tell him once for all, that I do not believe a tittle of the Negotia-
 P. 46. tion of Mr. *de Noailles*, that he cites, nor of any other upon his word, unless he tells where they may be found; and if Mr. *de Noailles* was instructed to go to the Duke of *Northumberland*, when *Edward* the sixth was but thirteen year old; then the paper must be false: for *Dudley* was not created Duke of *Northumberland* before *Edward* the sixth was fifteen years old: there is a great difference between Governing a Prince, and being his Governour: all the world believed, that *Cardinal de Richelieu* governed *Lewis* the thirteenth; yet no body called him his Governour.

III. He denies, that in the two Edi-
 P. 50. tions of his Book printed at Paris, the Epithet *simple* is added to the quality of Gentleman, with

with which he had honoured the Lord Darnley; in this I must refer my self to those who have the *French* Editions; but all who have read the Impression of *Amsterdam*, see that he does me wrong in saying, that I have *added* it. No, I leave such practices to Mr. *Varillas*. I have taken some pains to find a Book of the *Paris* Edition in this Countrey, but have not been able to do it: yet as for his Answer, and his second *Volum*, I have them before me of the *Paris* Edition, so there shall be no more room for any such Dispute for the future; but it is strange, that this word *simple* should have been foisted into the *Dutch* Impression, if it was not in the *Paris* Edition: words are left out, but seldom added in those Impressions, that do only Copy another. The Series of the Narration makes me believe, that Mr. *Varillas* denies this, with the same sincerity that he affirms other things, why did he call him a *Gentleman* without adding any other Description of his Quality; for let him say what he will, of the Honour of that Title, yet all the world knows, that when a man is upon such an occasion

sion qualified barely as a *Gentleman*, that it is understood, that he has no higher rank, nor any particular distinction: and that which comes after this, *that by this Marriage the Queen grew contemptible to all her Subjects*; shews, that even tho *Simple* were not to be found in the *Paris* Editions, yet it must be understood. But because *Mr. Varillas* will pretend to know the *Scottish* Story, he offers to recriminate. In short, those who sent him that Story of my life, have also furnished him with some Errors for which he charges me in such heinous terms as to call them *Faults of vast importance, which the meanest of all the little Schollars at Edinburgh would have avoided*. I ought to fall a trembling here; for I know there would be no quarter for me if I fell into *Mr. Varillas's* hands: yet all these dreadful words come only to this, that she whom I called the *Lord Darnley's Grandmother*, proves to be his *Great Grandmother*; and that she whom I call *Isabel*, was *Margaret*. And are not these justly to be aggravated

P:222. with such severity, as to say, that these were *Faults of the grossest*

grossest sort, against the first Elements of the History of my Countrey. I forgive Mr. Varillas for magnifying those mistakes, since he can meet with no other; and I do not find my self a whit troubled, if writing in *Holland*, where I had not the requisites of Books or Papers, I did not carry the race of the Family of *Lennox* so exactly in my memory, but that I might mistake so far as to call a *Great Grandmother* a *Grandmother*; and there having been a famous Lady *Isabel Dowglas*, if I mistook *Isabel* for *Margaret*, this is no great matter. But he charges me with a third, because I said, that the *Branch of the Lennox's* came out of the *Family of the Stewards*, before the *Crown* came into it by *Marriage*; whereas he tells me, I should have said at the same time, since the first of the Family of *Lennox* was Brother to him that married the Heir of the *Crown*. If I had said, long before, he might have challenged me for it; but the younger Brother being born before that *Marriage*, and not being descended from it, I used all necessary caution in my words, my design being only to shew, that the

House of *Lennox*, by the Paternal descent, had no relation to the Crown: P. 53. after this our Author, to make some reparation to the Royal Family, reckons up the Honours that some Branches of the House of *Lennox* had in *France*, as that they were *Marquisses*, *Counts of Aubigny*, *Viceroy of Naples*, *Admirals of Sicily*, and *Marsbals of France*: tho to make up this Catalogue of honour, the same man runs *Charles the fifth's* fate, to be subdivided into two or three Dignities. But Mr. *Varrillas* ought to know, that the Dignity of the K. of *England's* birth is too great a thing to receive any addition by the Imployments that those of the Family of *Lennox* might have merited in *France*. So mean a man as Mr. *Varillas*, who has nothing in his thoughts but the smiles of *Versailles*, fancies he gives a lustre to one of the greatest *Kings in Europe*, when he says, that some of his Family served in *France*, which rather lessens his Race than exalts it. As for his Impudence in putting the *Crown of Scotland* instead of the *Crown of England*, and his making me say, that the Lord *Darnley* might have been

been a dangerous competitor to *Mary Queen of Scots* for that *Crown*, when not only my words, but the whole series of the Discourse, shews, that I meant only of the *Crown* of *England*, was already observed. It will indeed bear a repetition; for it is a remarkable instance of Mr. *Varillas's* sincerity, and shews how safely the world may rely on his word. He shews his Ignorance again in saying, *That this Marriage of the Queen of Scotland, was the first cause of the change of Religion in Scotland.* The change of Religion was made before the *Queen* came out of *France*, and so was settled some years before this Marriage; and this was rather a step towards the subverting of the *Religion* then established, since the Lord *Darnley* lived and died a *Roman Catholick*.

IV. What he says to shew, that the greatness of *Queen Maries* spirit does not contradict the P. 60. character that He gives of her, is so poor, that I will not examin it; the subject is too tender to admit of it, as well as what he says is too dull to deserve it.

V. He

- V. He gives a long Citation of his own words, by which it
- P. 67. does not appear that I supposed any thing that needed to be told by me; if this Book had been printed two years sooner than it was, I should have believed, that Mr. *Varillas* was in Pension to some body else, than the *King of England*, by the pains he is at to justify the putting a *Bastard* into the Succession of the *Crown*: for I do not believe, that at this time any body thinks him considerable enough to be corrupted. 2. His al-
- P. 73. ledging that I had accused him as if he had said, that the *King* had composed whole Volumes on this subject, is another mark of his sincerity; for it is visible, I had said no such thing. 3. The Proofs he brings to justify what he had said of the baseness of the Race of the *Tudors* from some Strangers, and *Harpsfield*, one of the worst of our Writers, are not to be put in the ballance either with *Polidor Virgil's* Testimony, or the more Authentick Evidences that I had given, particularly in my *Appendix*, to which he says not a word.
4. There

4. There is great difference between saying, that the *Tudors* were not Gentlemen, and the denying that he was a fit match for a *Queen-Dowager*. And tho Mr. *de Courteney* is perhaps of a higher degree of *Nobility*, than I pretend that the *Tudors* are, yet I believe he would be thought an unequal match to a *Queen Dowager of France*: so tho the *Tudors* might perhaps drive up their pedigree to *Cadwallar*, yet they had been for some Ages reckoned only as one of the best Families of *Wales*: and this puts an end to all that trifling of his, when he pretends to argue against his Birth, by saying, that if he was so descended, he was an equal Match to the *Queen Dowager*. 5. There might be very good reasons that might make the *Queen* conceal her Marriage all that was possible, even tho *Tudor* had been ever so good a Gentleman: for she being a *Queen-mother*, and having a *Son* newly born, which gave the prospect of a long share in the Government, she had reason to hide her Marrying a Gentleman, had he been ever so nobly born. The *Dowager of France*, that was King *Henry's Sister*,
had

had none of those considerations for hiding her Marriage with *Brandon*; and the other Sister the *Queen Dowager* of *Scotland*, had no reason at all to hide her Marriage; for she made it to secure her in the Government, *Dowglas* Earl of *Angus* being then the greatest Subject in the Nation: so the keeping this Marriage with *Tudor* secret, does not at all prove that He was no Gentleman. 6. But Mr. *Varillas* does not pretend to answer the main thing that I laid to his charge, which was, that he speaks of the *Tudor* that married into the Family of the *Plantagenets*, as a mean man, when he was the *Kings* uterine Brother; so that I shewed, that when he writ his History, he knew nothing of that Marriage, since it is not to be imagined, that any man who knew it could pretend to reckon up the Race of the *Tudors*, without mentioning its chief Dignity. 7. If I had thought so slight a fault, which Mr. *Varillas* magnifies so much in me, of calling a *Great-grand-mother* a *Grand-mother*, worth mentioning, here I have proved him guilty of it; for he

he calls the *Tudor* that married the *Plantagenet*, Great-grand-father to King *Henry* the VIII. P. 70. whereas he was only his Grand-father. 8. He tells us in his Justifying the Succession of Bastards, that the Rank of the *King's* Bastard was much higher than *Owen Tudors* was; but tho the *French* have so far flattered the Lewdness of their *Kings*, as to esteem their Bastards *Princesborn*, yet in *England* they have no Rank at all, till the *King* gives them a *Title*, and then their Rank is only according to the degree and the date of their Creation.

VI. He confesses here the very words that I cited out of him, and yet he pretends, that I Pag. 84. had accused him falsely.

But that he may have some colour for this, he charges on me words that are not in my *Reflections*. He had said, *The four principal Cantons had suffered themselves to be seduced in less than a year*; whereas this was ten years work: and now he thinks to save this by saying, *that a great part was abused*
in

in less than a year : but even this belonged only to *Zurich* ; whereas he had said, that the four *Cantons* suffered themselves to be seduced : besides that, what he speaks thus of the *Cantons* in general, cannot be meant of some Individuals, but must be understood of the Magistracy ; and yet now he confesses, that they were ten years a considering this matter before it was generally received by the Government, to whom only the name of the *Cantons* belongs : and as the Bigness of the Town of *Basil* does not hinder its being one of the little *Cantons*, so the pensions that *France* might pay an Age ago to *Schaffhouse*, will never change its rank among them : nor does he say a word to justify his Mustring up of the seven *Popish Cantons* among the small ones ; or his raising *Appensel* and *Glaris* to be among the middle-sized.

VII. Here he remembers me of my Fault of having said, *That*
P. 90. his way of writing wanted none
of the Beauties of History, except that of Truth ; which he thus repeats, according to his ordinary sincerity,

ity, that I my self had avowed, that he wanted none of the Qualities proper for writing History; without putting in my exception of that of truth: that even by this citation he might justify my accusing him of want of truth: but he tells us, that by his Copyers fault his Preface to his third Book was lost; so he was forced to make that up the best he could; and then he comforts himself with this meditation, that the Books of Authors are subject to Fortune as well as other human things: but I was not bound to know the secrets that past between him and his Copyer, no more than I am bound now to believe what he says of it. The Books of Authors are subject to Fortune; for by a great chance his were once in some esteem; but as we say of the Dead, that they are beyond the reach of Fortune; so his Books very likely may be soon exempted from Fortune in that sense. In short, he seems to confess, that the Preamble he sets before *Luthers* affair is Impertinent, and I said no more of it.

VIII. He gives me an Advice how I should have begun my History: *With the Indignation that* P. 94.

the

the English Nation had to the Papacy ever since King John had subjected his Crown to the Holy See, and had established the Peterpence, that this was increased because a Pope had made them lose Guienne, by hindring one of their Kings to levy the tenths on the Church Lands : that King Henry the Eighth's lewdness gave him a great byas to schism, which he pursues in a full career : and repeats those Absurd Calumnies concerning Anne Bullen, which I had so copiously refuted : and at last he adds, That King Henry raised mean persons to great Employments ; that these by the Laws and Government of England, could not enrich themselves but moderately, and in many years ; and therefore since they resolved they would be rich all of the sudden, they saw they must do it at the Churches cost.

I do not wonder that Mr. Varillas should advise me to have made up a *Preface* in this manner, that so I might write in his own way ; but I think I have sufficiently convinced him, that I have not such an esteem of him as to be much inclined to follow his Council. 1. It was King *Ina*, and not King *John*,

John, that settled the *Peter-* *Polid. Virg.*
pence 2. *K. John's* Action *lib. 4.*

was a personal Baseness in him, which did not at all affect the Kingdom; so that there was scarce any notice taken of that meanness of his, unless it was to make him that was guilty of it contemptible; for a *King of England can neither alienate nor subject his Crown to any forreign power.* 3. What he says of *Guienne* seems to be one of his Discoveries; for it is not mentioned by any of our Historians, that I know of. 4. At the time that *Guienne* was lost, the *Popes* by residing at *Avignon*, and being considered as in the power of *France*, had so little credit in *England*, that as there were many *Laws* made all that while against the *Papal* Pretensions, so a *Bull* at that time could not have been so much as executed in *England*, without the *Kings* leave, much less could it have obstructed the Subsidies levied upon the *Clergy.* 5. He understands the Interest of *England* as little as he does other things, that fancies the Nation was much troubled for the loss of *Guienne*: which lay at so great a distance

stance, and was defended at so vast a charge, that the Nation that received no profit by it, in an Age in which there was little trade, was glad of getting out of this necessity of giving the *King* so many Subsidies. If he had apply'd that which he says of *Guienne* to *Normandy*, it had been more pertinent; but Mr. *Varillas* is as wanting in Judgment, as he is fruitful in invention. 6. He ought not to awaken the Memory of the pretensions that *England* has upon *Guienne*; for if the Rights of Crowns are so sacred, that no prescription cuts them off, and that no Treaties can alienate them, a time may come when a Chamber may be set up at *Westminster*, as well as we have seen one at *Metz*, to examine the pretensions of the Crown of *England* to *Guienne*, which will be found less ancient and better made out, than some that have been carried up to King *Dagobert*. 7. But I would gladly know what Law of *England* has prescribed the measure and the number of years in which the *Kings Ministers* may enrich themselves: but Mr. *Varillas* has found out Laws that we have not,
as

as he is ignorant of those we have: and now I think I have given him good Reasons, why I do not think fit to follow his Advice in the making of Prefaces.

IX. He is so much in love with his Maxim concerning *the Slavery to which he fancies Religion carries men, in not suffering them to examin, whether what they say is true or false, that he repeats it twice so copiously, that he bestows ten lines upon it in every one of these two pages.* 2. He cites a famous Calvinist, that commended him for his sincerity in setting forth the handsome Actions of those of that party; and who owned, that he had not seen any of his side, commend those of the other party with the like sincerity; but since I give so little credit to Mr. Varillas's Citations, even when he names all particulars, he cannot expect that I will consider this much. 3. But what sincerity soever he might have affected in his History of Charles the ninth, which he did perhaps to gain him some Reputation, that he might be the less inspected in what should

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come

come afterwards, I am sure no *Calvinist* will make him great Complements for the future. 4. Mr. *Varillas's* Defence of his Theory of the power of Religion is wonderful; he says, *It seems I thought he meant only that true Religion had this power over the conscience; whereas he is convinced by experience, that false Religions have as much power over mens minds as the true has.* If Mr. *Varillas* were not of so singular a composition as he is, the excuse that he ought to have made, was, that he only meant of *false Religions*, or of mens Persuasions in matters of Religion: but to say that Religion does this, and now to own so plainly that the *true Religion* does it as well as false ones, is an expression that is so contrary to all Religion, that I do not see how Mr. *Coquelin* can answer to the Faculty for his licensing such a Book: for tho the good man is utterly unacquainted with *Historical* matters, yet he seems to have read *Tertullian*, and he ought to understand a little *Divinity*: now tho his competence in that is probably very small, as appears by his way of treating me, yet even the Catechism will inform

inform him, that true *Religion* instead of making us unconcerned in what we write, whether it is true or false, binds us to the greatest strictness of Truth. 5. His second Excuse is of the same force: He says, that according to the Principles of the Catholick Religion, after the Authority of the Church is once interposed, there is no need of any ones troubling himself, whether what She decrees is true or false, since the Decision must certainly be true. But the occasion that led Mr. *Varillas* to deliver this wonderful Apothegme, was concerning Historical Matters of Fact, in which Points of Doctrine are not concerned, except he will conclude, that when one is assured in Matters of Doctrine, he may support them with lyes, which he has indeed taken care to do, even to a degree of Supererogation: and after all, it is to be reckoned among the Sublimes of Mr. *Varillas*, that he expresses the assurance of the *Infallibility* of the Church, by saying, that one does not trouble himself, to examin whether what She decrees is true or false. If then this is the sense of his words, they cannot belong to those Religions, that do

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not

not own that *Infallibility*; so that in short, the Priviledge of not considering *whether what one says is true or false*, belongs only to *Roman Catholicks*; in which we have no reason to pretend to a share. And if this is the Priviledge of *Catholicks*, Mr. *Varillas* must be concluded the *truest Catholick* in the world; for never man used it in its full extent as he has done.

X. What he says of *my History's being so partial*, is a Reproach
 P.109. that he does not confirm by any one Instance; and I hope he does not expect that I will believe this upon his word. He says, if Mr. *Maimbourg* had lived five or six months, he had finished his confutation of my Book: But if it was so near being compleated, I wonder that Mr. *Varillas* could not hear of any one of my many Errors, which had been a more Important thing, than the putting a *Grand-mother* for a *Great Grand-mother*, or an *Isabel* for a *Margaret*. He also tells me, that it will not be impossible for him to prove, either that the Papers that I have printed, are not true, or that the Copies of some of them that
 are

are in the Kings Library, are defective. This last is so important to me, that the very apprehensions of the Discovery should make me dye of fear. Certainly Mr. *Varillas* has no Friends that review what he writes, otherwise tho he himself is very capable of writing extravagantly, yet they could not let such things pass; for it seems Mr. *Coque-lins* Judgment is of the same sise with his own.

XI. He threatens me again
with a Conviction that shall be P. 115.
stronger than I look for.

I confess, if any thing that is *strong*, comes from his Pen, it will be *stronger* than I look for. But some one Instance had been *stronger* than so many Threatnings: but he added here a little sprinkling of sincerity; for he confesses ingenuously, that tho he read all the *Kings Manuscripts* that were then in the *Duke of Orleans's* hands, and were communicated to him by the late Mr. *de Bethune*, yet he has drawn no part of his History out of them, but out of the Authors that he has cited, and is to cite in this Answer. I assure him, I believe one part of this Period,

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that

that for all his pretending to have founded his History on Cardinal *de Bellay's* Letters, he has drawn nothing of it out of good Papers: for then it would have been quite different from what it is: but I do not believe that he read them all over; for how weak soever he may be, yet his weakness cannot go so far as to make him fancy that a *Florimond* was a better *Warrant* for his *History* than Original Papers.

XII. Mr. *Varillas* will still pretend to build on Cardinal *de P. 117. Bellay's* Letters, which he says, were communicated to him by Mr. *du Puy*: he says, he had two Negotiations in England; and that the second did not relate to the Divorce, but to the Reconciling King Henry to P. Clement: and here he fills the Page with a needless Repetition of that matter. And adds, that he made use of that Cardinals Letters on that single occasion: and for those dangers which he represents, as if the Cardinal had set them before the King; he says, they are contained all in one Letter, and that it was not strange if King Henry was disposed to reconcile himself to the Pope, apprehending

hending danger to his Person, since Camdem reports, that *Queen Elizabeth* could not bring her self to resolve on the *Queen of Scots* death, but after she had said those terrible words, *Either she or I must perish*: And in conclusion he says, that the Manuscripts that are in the *Kings Library*, favour my History so little, that he who would undertake to refute it, Page by Page, would find more than enough in *Mr. de Bethunes Manuscripts* alone.

1. *Mr. Varillas* had done well to have named the first Negotiation of *Cardinal de Bellay* in *England*; for the Books that he cites mention but one. 2. The breach that the *King* made with the *Pope*, being only founded on the divorce, it cannot be said that this Negotiation did not relate to it. 3. I refer the *Readers* to his *Preface*, if they will be at the pains to take so ill a Book any more in their hands, there they will find that he makes *Cardinal de Bellay's* Letters the Text of all that he writ of *English Affairs*. 4. If that Discourse of the *Cardinals* with the *King*, of the Dangers he might run of *Rebellions* and *Assassinations*, be all contained in

one single Letter. Mr. *Varillas* had obliged the Publick more by printing it, than by all the rest of this Book.

5. If King *Henry* apprehended this, the more shame for that *Church*, that has authorised such Doctrines, and such Practices: and in which a *Pope* made a Panegyrick on one Assassinate, *Clement*, & the *Jesuites* have Besainted another, *Garnet*.

6. If Mr. *Varillas* intends to justify *Queen Elisabeth's* Severity to the *Queen of Scots*, he does very pertinently to alledge this: for as Self-preservation works strongly on all men, so it ought to make a greater Impression on *Princes*, whose Live are of greater consequence, and more in danger: and if *Queen Elisabeth* had reason to say, **That either the one or the other must perish**, no body will wonder if she chose to let the fate fall on the *Queen of Scots*: for in such an alternative, one would not lose much time in the deliberation.

7. As for his threatening me, it is known, that is the language of Cowards: I am not affraid of him, and I do not apprehend that he has so much tenderness for me, or that he thinks himself so much obliged

obliged to me, that he would not discredit my *History*, as much as I have done his, if he but knew how to go about it.

XIII. He assures me, *He has read Camdem exactly, and he excuses his citing him as the Historian of the Revolution of England, only in the singular; and confesses, if he had said it in the plural number, Revolutions, I had some reason for my Censure; so since he writ of the Revolution under Queen Elisabeth, this justifies him. He denys that Camdem troubled Mr. de Thou, with the Manuscript of the second part of his History; which was an Imployment below a President de Mortier to be concerned in: and he adds, that he has often heard that Camdem sent his Manuscript to Mr. du Puy, who took care to print it: and then he reflects on Mr. de Thou's partiality in all those matters, that related to the Queen of Scots, and says, that King James spake so severely to his Son upon it, that it threw him into a sickness of three moneths continuance: and in conclusion, he thinks I contradict my self, having said, that he had not read a Page in Cam-*

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dem

dem, and yet adding, that he was displeased with him for his having discovered so many *Rebellions and Conspiracies* against *Queen Elisabeth*; for how could he know this if he had not read him?

1. I do not know why *Mr. Varillas* calls *Camden* always *Camdem*; this tempts me still to think, that he never saw his Book; for when men hear names only mentioned in discourse, they are apt to Mistake them; but when they see them before them in print, they write them truer. 2. When *Mr. Varillas* set a *Preface* before his first *Volum*, and mentioned a *Revolution of Religion in England* in it, that must be understood of the *Revolution* comprehended within that *Volum*, and not of one that does not come in but in the third *Volum*: so the *Revolution* made by *King Henry*, being all that was comprehended in that *Volum*, I had reason to say, he had never opened *Camden*, since he cites him as having writ concerning it. 3. He obliges me here to tell the Story of *Camdens Manuscript* more particularly than I had thought necessary.

Mr. de

Mr. *de Thou* having intended to make his History general, entred into a Correspondence with the men over all *Europe*, that were most likely to inform him right: so he was in a great Correspondence with *Camden*: and when *Camdens* first *Volum* appeared, he writ severely to him, finding that it was so different from what had past between them in Letters, chiefly with Relation to the *Queen of Scots*; upon which *Camden* told him the truth, that King *James* would needs revise it himself, and afterwards put it in the Earl of *Northampton's* hands, who was Brother to the *Duke of Norfolk*, that had been beheaded on that *Queens* account, and that many things were struck out, and many things altered: this troubled *Camden* extreamly, who took care, that his second *Part* should not run the same fate: and therefore he sent it out of *England*, to that *Great Man*, that it might be printed faithfully after his death: This is well known in *England*, and the sending the *Second Part* beyond Sea to a forreigner, does very easily carry a man to believe this to have been the true Reason of it.

4. I do not indeed think that a *President de Mortier* went to the *Cramoisy's* and the *Barbin's* of that time, to sell the Manuscripts, or to correct the Impression: and if so worthy and so learned a man as *Mr. du Puy* took care to see it faithfully printed, *Mr. de Thou*, as he did nothing unworthy of his dignity in being the Depositary of so valuable a piece of *History*, so he answered the sacredness of the trust to the full, when he put it in his Kinsmans hands. 5. It is true, that King *James* reproached *Mr. de Thou's Son* for his Father's having copied *Buchanan's* invectives against his *Mother*; but *Mr. de Thou* had a very tender heart, if this gave him a sickness of three moneths. 6. It is no contradiction for me to say, that he never read *Camden*; and yet to add, that he disliked him for the Discoveries he had made; unless *Mr. Varillas* will prove, that it was impossible for him to know this by hear-say: now I, that tell him so oft, and which is worse, that prove that he writes upon hear-say, might well say that he had condemned *Camden*, tho he had never read a word in him,

as there are now a great many that think very ill of Mr. *Varillas's Histories*, and yet are resolved never to be at the pains to read a Page in him.

XIV. He excuses himself for what he had said concerning *Mortons History*, by telling us, that Mr. de la Vallade, a Gentleman P. 127. of Poictou, that was of the Religion, shewed him the Latin Manuscript of a History, that he said was *Mortons*, which he intended to print; this he says, he read, and drew Extracts out of it: yet Mr. *Varillas* here speaks modestly, and says, that Manuscript did not at all relate to the times that fall within the two first Volumes; and that he will strike out of what Remains any thing that is drawn out of that Book, if he is informed by his Friends in England, that he has been deceived in it.

I have already so oft told Mr. *Varillas*, that I will take nothing on his word, that I grow weary of repeating it. 2. If this History did not relate to the two first Volumes, why did he speak of it in his *Preface* to the first? 3. I believe he needs not take great care of the Volumes that remain; for I suppose,

the world will be at last convinced.

XV. He excuses that which he had said of *Sanders*, whom he
 P.130. had brought in as one of the Authors of our *History*, and of whom he had said, that he was so violent against the Protestants, that no wonder if they forced him to dye of hunger in the Mountains of the North of England. He pretends, that by calling him *Violent*, he did not intend to reflect on his *History*: But since he brings him in as a Historian, this Character must be applied to his Book: and as he makes no Excuse for his having said, that he died in England, whereas it was in Ireland; so his representing the severity under which he fell, as an effect of his *Emportments*, is a very soft way of speaking, of one that had raised a Rebellion, and that upon its miscarriage had fled into Woods, where he died of hunger; but this agrees well enough with his notion of *Zealous Catholics*.

XVI. What he says of *Ribadeneira*, is still so trifling, that I will
 P.134. not dwell on the examining of it: the severest things that he

he could say against *England*, must have recommended him and his Books so much the more to *Philip* the Second, who considered *Queen Elizabeth* as the greatest Enemy he had: so I could not imagin what the Severity of the *Inquisition* and *Philip* the Second's strictness as to the printing of Books had to do here: and there were no false steps of *Charles* the fifth's to be related; for he adhered firmly both to his *Aunt's* Interests, and to the Interests of the *See of Rome* in this matter, and his setting on with much vigour the giving Sentence at *Rome*, would have appeared rather as a raising, than as a darkning of his Glory.

XVII. He tells me, *That what is printed of Lesley's Works, is not the tenth part of his Works, P. 137. which are preserved with great care in Paris, in the Scottish Colledge.* This is like the rest of Mr. Varillas's Citations. It is 23. years since I took some care to be informed by the Rector of the *Scottish Colledge*, *F. Barclay*, if there were any *Scottish Manuscripts* saved in the time of the *Reformation*; he told me, *they had none*; but they believed there

there were some in *Italy*: since that time there has been pains enough taken to enquire after those grounds, upon which *Dempster* had promised so great a Work: but it seems he was a Writer like *Mr. Varillas*: for it could never be known out of what Instructions he intended to draw those things that he promises concerning *Scotland*: and some have been so severe to him as to think, that he made all that pompous *Apparatus*, as *Mr. Varillas* makes his *Histories*, out of his own Invention. In short, *Lesley's* Book has been so well received of all hands, and is so much esteemed, that it will not be easy to persuade any, that a Colledge of *Scottish Priests*, would have suffered the *Manuscripts* of so good an Author, to lye above a hundred years in the dust.

XVIII. He charges me with a Contradiction, for saying, *That*
P. 139. there were some of Cardinal
Bellay's Letters in the Kings
Library, that were not yet printed: and yet adding in another place, *That I*
know no other of his Letters besides those
that are printed.

But

But he must have made as great Discoveries in Logick, as he pretends to do in History, before he can make a Contradiction out of these two Expressions: *Some told me there were some of that Cardinals Letters in the Kings Library besides those that were printed, and that I knew of no others besides those that are printed.* For I do not pretend to have searched the Kings Library: yet after all, I had said no such thing; for I only said, *that none of the matters, mentioned by Mr. Varillas, are in the printed Volum of that Cardinals Letters,* without adding, *whether I knew of any other, or not:* tho it is very true, that I know of no other. If I have put him oftner than once in mind of his Boldness, in pretending to draw his History out of *Cardinal de Bellay's Letters:* I do not wonder to see him troubled at it, since he cannot justify any one tittle of his History out of them: the thing was so important, that it deserved to be often repeated, and I used him gently in speaking of it so seldom.

XIX. *He excuses his Political Refinings by the Example* P. 141.
of

of *Guichardin*. But as there is no part of History more Instructing than that of the Cabinet, so a man like *Guichardin*, that knew those secrets, and had a share in Affairs, obliged the World as much in delivering those so judiciously, as he did, tho perhaps a little too tediously, as *Mr. Varillas* has abused it, by so much counterfeit stuff, as he has given out instead of true Politicks. But *Mr. Varillas* tells me a dreadful thing upon this, *That then his Friends are not clear sighted, since they have assured him, that this was that which they found to be the least amiss in his Books.* If *Mr. Varillas* writes long at this rate, I shall come to believe, that he has no Friends at all; and if he have any, it seems they are chosen according to *Martials* character (*pares amici*) men of his own sise; so that I do not now wonder if *Mr. Varillas* has been able to find a *Coquelin*, and a few more as ignorant as himself, who may perhaps admire him; yet he says in one thing true, that this is the part of his Books, *that is the least amiss*; and indeed this is all the praise that can belong to any part of his Books: for
the

tho all that is in them, is *amiss* ; yet some parts are *less amiss* than others. And his roving about Political projects, are certainly *less amiss* than his plain and impudent Falsehoods.

XX. I had accused Mr. *Varillas* for saying, that all *England*, without excepting *any one person*, P. 144. professed the same *Religion* under *Henry* the Seventh : and I shewed him, that the putting this so generally must be false, since in the second year of *Henry* the Eighth's reign there were a great many condemned of *Heresy* : he pretends to excuse this since the *Spaniards* boast that *Heresy* never past the *Pyrenees*, tho many have suffered in the *Inquisition* for it. But if any *Spaniard* had said, that there was never so much as *one Heretick* in *Spain*, I should have told him that he did not write exactly ; and because I press this no further, than to shew by it, that Mr. *Varillas* is a careless Writer, and am willing to let it pass with a gentle censure, because I had greater things to lay to his charge, he, according to his usual sincerity, pretends, that I acknowledged the weakness
of

of the Objection, and abandoned it.

XXI. He pretends, that I accuse him falsly for denying the
P. 151. consummation of *P. Arthur's*
 Marriage: whereas he says, he determined nothing positively concerning *P. Arthur's Impotence*. But that was never the Question; for it was never brought under debate, whether he was impotent or not: and that for which I had chiefly accused Mr. *Varillas*, was, that he affirmed, that *P. Arthur* was then *sick*, and not yet recovered out of a great disease: this is all Fiction, and is disproved by Witnesses upon Oath; but he says not a word to justify this. 2. Here he pretends to tell at what pains he was, to examin the Affairs of *England*, that he thought the *English* and *Germans* of both Religions might be too partial; that the *Italians* were too short; that *Ribadeneira* might be suspected because of his Order; and therefore he thought *Florimond de Raimond* the best Author to depend upon: But if he had read *Sanders* alone, he would have found that both his *Florimond* and his *Ribadeneira* was nothing but *Sanders*

ders over and over again. 3. He accuses me for making him say, that *P. Arthur* died *Seven* moneths after the Marriage, whereas he had said *Five* moneths. But in my *English* it was *five* moneths: so he has no reason to blame me for this, since I am not bound to answer for a *Translation*; and tho this was a good and exact *Translation*, in which my meaning was not mistaken, as it has been too often in a *Translation* of a late Book of my *Letters* concerning *Italy*, yet so small a mistake was no great matter: and in a thing of this nature, Mr. *Varillas* ought to have got some who understand *English*, to examin my Book in the Language in which I writ, before he had accused me of having put *seven* for *five* on P. 161. *design to deceive my Readers.*

4. He justifies his false Citation of the *Bull*, by the most exact of all those who have continued *Baronius*, in whom the words he had cited are to be found. But why then did he cite the third Tome of the *Bullarium* on his Margin, and why did he not name this Writer, and the place of his Book: for such a way

way of citing, especially in Mr. *Varillas*, is very suspicious; and if that Author does not set down the *Bull* it self, but only delivers these words as his sense of them, then this was like the rest of Mr. *Varillas's* Citations, to

give this on the Margin as
Ibid. drawn out of the *Bull.* 5. He

pretends that there is no material difference between his Citation and mine: But as it was enough for me to shew, that the words he cited were not in the *Bull*, so tho Mr. *Varillas* boasts in another place how much he has studied the Law, yet I must take the Liberty to tell him, that he has lost his time extreamly, while he pursued that Study; if he does not know a difference between a Confirmatory Clause, which may have passed with less observation, and what is set forth in a Preamble, which being the ground upon which the grace is granted, and set at the head of the *Bull*, is of much more importance, and was probably much better considered, than any general Clause.

XXII. He accuses me for having said, *That Henry the Eighth was educated*

cated as his Brother had been, P. 164.
who knew only Latin, and some
general Elements of Learning; and
tells me, how learned King Henry was.
It appears by my words, that I spake
only of his first Education, and not of
the Improvements that followed. 2.
He seems mightily concerned for the
Memory of King Henry the Seventh,
as if by this affected Zeal he would
make some reparations to the Royal
Family, for the Injuries he has endea-
voured to do them: but I will be so
plain as to tell him roundly, that Hen-
ry the Seventh weakned the Rights of
the Crown of England more than any
that ever reigned in it: He knew that he
could not found his Title on his De-
scend from the House of Lancaster;
for then he could never have been more
than Prince of Wales, since his Mother,
by whom he had that pretension, out-
lived him a year: and he would not hold
the Crown by his Queens Title; for
then the Right must have been in her,
and have passed from her to her Chil-
dren upon her death, or to her Sister,
if she hapned to dye without issue:
therefore he who would not hold the
Crown

Crown upon such a doubtful tenure, made that dangerous Law, that *who-soever is in possession of the Crown, is to be acknowledged as the Legal King.* And if King Henry the Seventh had been so Wise a King as some Flatterers have made him, he would never have suffered the *Dutchy of Bretagne*, to have fallen in to the Crown of *France*, it having been always considered, that the preserving that in a separated *Principality*, was one of the most indispenfible Maxims of the *English* Policy: yet he, tho he made use of this as a pretence to ask Money of his *Parliament*, to oppose it, no sooner had the Money, than he gave way to it; for which it was believed, that he had Money from *France*. 3. He denies that learning was then esteemed among Princes: and says, that the Cardinal of Lorraine was the first Prince that valued himself upon his Learning. But is it not known, that Francis the First valued himself upon the protection that he gave to Learning: and the Glory of the Houses of *Est* and *Medici* was not a little encreased by the care they took of learned men;
of

of which I could convince Mr. *Varillas* by his own *Anecdotes*; if I were not ashamed to cite so bad an Author.

XXIII. He reproaches me for my insupportable Ignorance in not knowing the difference between the Council and the Parliament of England, and in great charity he explains it to me; and so he says, that I confound what he had said of the Council of England with the Parliament.

1. If I were ignorant of this, my Ignorance were indeed insupportable: or which is all one, it were as great as his own. 2. But tho he speaks indeed of the Council, yet when he had the confidence to cite on the Margin the *Petition of the Parliament to the Pope*, I had reason to discover something else, which is in him, that is yet more insupportable than Ignorance: and to prove his forging of Authorities, by shewing that the *Parliament* never meddled in this matter, which I do yet more evidently in my *Appendix*, since no *Parliament* met at that time. 3. He affirms here, that the Council of En-

E

gland

gland knew that care was taken that the Marriage with P. Arthur could not be consummated ; which is another character of that insupportable quality for which I charge him. I clearly prove, that the *Privy Councillors* knew there was no such matter, since they deposed the contrary upon Oath. 4 But at last, he betakes himself to his *Florimond*, and there I leave him in Company like himself.

XXIV. He accuses me of an irreparable Injury, that I have done
P. 172. the Memory of Henry the Seventh, in taxing him of Avarice; which he says, no Historian, Protestant or Catholick, had done before me. This is a good discovery of his acquaintance with our Historians, in particular with Chancellor Bacon, since that whole reign, but chiefly the last year of it, was a course of Extortions; and as the vast Treasure which he left behind him shewed this, so if Mr. Varillas had known Henry the Eighth's History, he would have seen, that the very day he came to the Crown, he sent the two chief Instruments of his Father's Oppressions to Prison, and that
their

their Proceſs was made, and they were ſoon after executed. So certain it is, that Mr. *Varillas* read no Hiſtory of that Reign. 2, He excuſes the Impertinence with which I had taxed him, in calling *Henry* the Eighth *Duke of York* after his Brothers death, by ſaying, he did it to avoid a *Galimathias*, which he thinks had followed, if he had called both the *Brothers Princes of Wales*; but having once ſhewed, that by the death of the *Elder*, the *Younger* became *Prince of Wales*, this had been no more a *Galimathias*, than to call any *Successor* to a Crown *the King*, which will create no confuſion in the Readers mind; or if he was too tender in this point, he might have diſtinguiſhed them by their names of *Arthur* and *Henry*, which was both clearer and ſhorter.

XXV. He excuſes himſelf here, and ſays, he drew from a *Letter* of the *Catholick King's*, P. 177. that which he had aſſerted of their Apprehenſions; and adds, *that Authors are not to be blamed when they write out of good Memoirs*. P. 178. But I do not blame him

for writing out of good Memoirs, but for forging false ones. 2. His confidence in putting himself in the Class with *Salustius* and *Tacitus*, is another of his insupportable Qualities. 3. His spending two pages in repeating over again that for which I had charged him, as if he had read it in a Letter of the *Catholick King's*, does not make any man believe this a whit the better. If he had told where that Letter was to be found, what the date of it was, and to whom it was writ; and if he had given it in the Language in which it was writ originally, then this might have had some appearance of a Proof: but he had several very weighty Reasons, that kept him from doing this; and he hoped that as Down-right Impudence was the shortest way, so it would be the surest to make him be believed. 4. He goes on

P. 180. to justify that of *Henry the Seventh's* power to alienate the Crown of England, by saying, that he was a Conquerour, and was the Master of the Kingdom, as much as *William the Conquerour* was: and so he might dispose of it as he pleased. This is a new Theory

ry of Mr. *Varillas's*, that one who pretends to be the right Heir, and is so happy as to defeat an Usurper, is upon that to be accounted a Conquerour: for this was the case both of *William the Conquerour* and of *Henry the Seventh*: the one pretended a Title from *Edward the Confessor*, and defeated *Harold*, as the other did derive a Title from the House of *Lancaster*, and defeated *Richard*; but neither the one nor the other pretended that the Nation was a Conquest, no more than *Henry the Ninth of France* did when he broke the League. 5. He says, I needed not tell him that K. *Henry the Seventh* chused rather to hold the *Crown* by his Marriage with the Heir of the House of *York*, than by his right of Conquest. I told him no such thing, for I know it is false; since for the Reasons that I formerly named, he would never consent to hold the Crown in his Wife's Right. 6. He pretends, that I am banished *England*, for having been in the design of the *Exclusion* of the present *King*. All this is equally false: that I was in that design, that I was banished the Nation, and that it was

on that account: so his Sentence set in Capitals, is only a more evident discovery that he makes of himself, which he has done indeed in Capital Letters.

XXVI. He had said somewhat to purpose upon the Article of P. 185. *P. Alexander* the sixth, if he had given any sort of proof, that he had refused to grant the Dispensation for the Marriage.

XXVII. If instead of all the Relations both printed and Manuscripts, which he mentions so indefinitely, he had cited any one printed Relation of an Author that deserves credit, or any Manuscript that may be examined, this had deserved an Answer. Mr. *Varillas* had not said, as he would have it pass now, that *Ferdinand* only pretended to give his Daughter to the Duke of Calabria, but he had affirmed positively, that he intended it: and yet all the proof he brings for this, is, that there is no inconvenience in thinking, that at some time or other of his life, he might have been touched with the Remorse of the Injustice he had done the Duke of Calabria.

I am

I am not to examin the State of *Ferdinands* Conscience, nor what his secret Remorses might be, tho in matters of Injustice his was not very tender: But it is a new sort of proof, and well becoming our Author, who being called on to make good a thing, which he had positively affirmed, tells us, *there is no Inconvenience in thinking it true*; but then I see as little *Inconvenience* in thinking otherwise: it was convenient indeed for Mr. *Varillas* to have it believed; but his *Conveniences* do not determin me.

XXVIII. He pretends that I had denied, *that Henry the Eighths Parents thought of Marrying P.191. him to Francis the Firsts Sister:*

He tells me, *It was ordinary in those days to contract Marriages among Children, and therefore it was not inconvenient, that the French Ambassador should have proposed that Marriage.* And whereas I had denyed, that the *French Ambassadors writ Relations of their Ambassies, he mentions some that writ them.* And whereas I had shewed the *Improbability of a design of the Court of France's advancing the Count d'An-*

golefmes Sister to the Crown of England. He tells me, that Lewis the twelfth never intended to cut off his Cousin Francis's Right of Succession; and that his Sister was of a Rank fit to be a Match to the Heir of the Crown of England; and that the Duke of Lorrain married one, that was many degrees further from the Crown than Margaret of Valois was.

And now are not all these good substantial Proofs, and as he calls

P. 193. them, Discoveries of Errors, that are insupportable in me?

I never deny'd that Henry the Eighth's Parents would not think of this; but I lookt upon the whole thing as a Fiction. 2. If it was ordinary in those days to contract Children, does that prove that this Proposition was ever made? 3. Mr. Varillas's new discoveries in Logick makes him now a second time, offer to prove a thing, because it was not *Inconvenient*. 4. It is no proof that Mr. de Piennes writ a Relation of his Embassly, because some others writ their own Memoirs, and this was the thing in question; so he should have justified that Citation. 5. There is a great difference between
the

the not cutting off of *Francis's* Succession, and the raising his Interest, by giving him so powerful an Ally. In short, I denied the Fact, and he instead of proving it, tells me, *it was not inconvenient, nor a Match below Henry*, which I had never pretended.

XXIX. He tells mighty things of his performances with Relation to *England*, and says, it is but too well known how it comes P. 198. that these things appear not in his *History*. But if what is lost is of a piece with what appears now, the world may well bear the loss.

2. He denies, *that I have* P. 200. *cited any passage of his Book in which he had raised the power of the Parliament above the King's*. Tho I told him, that in this very place he had said, *that the Parliament being careful to maintain the Authority which they had over the King, obliged him by repeated Remonstrances to marry*. 3. But if he has said it, he will make it good: and he tells me, that he will cite two Authorities for this, which I dare not contradict: the one is of King *James the First*, who in his *Advice to his Son*,

says, *That the Parliament of England had not always kept its power within its due Limits, but had often enlarged it to the prejudice of the Royal Authority;* to this he adds another long Citation of his, that filled a Page indeed, but had not one word to prove a Superiority in the *Parliament* to the *King*: on the contrary, it proves that it was a *Court* assembled by the *King* for the great Affairs of the *Kingdom*: now tho I will not presume to dispute this Authority, yet I will take the Liberty to tell Mr. *Varillas*, that it makes against him; for if *Parliaments* have sometimes gone beyond their Limits, and have carried their power to the prejudice of the *Kings Authority*; then by our *Laws* the *Parliament* is not Superiour to the *King*, but has its Limits, and it exceeds those Limits when it attempts to raise it self above the *Kingly* power. 4. His second Authority is taken from an *Italian* of *Bologna*, and he sets down in Capitals his words, whereas ordinary Letters served for the Citation of *King James's* words; but he thought the one did him not such service as the other, and therefore

fore he bestowed the Capitals in gratitude to him, that did him the best service. The Writer of *Bologna* indeed does say, *That the Parliament of England has pretended a great Superiority above the King of England.* As for this Author Count *Majolino Bisaccioni*, I know nothing of him; so whether this is one of Mr. *Varillas's* Inventions or not, I will not determin: but I cannot imagin why this should be such an Authority that I *dare not dispute it*: It is true, the Author is of *Bologna*, where men are easily assassinated; yet I do not think, that this Count or his Heirs are so spiteful, as to send one to the *City of Holland*, according to Mr. *Varillas's* Geography, to Murder me, if I *contradict* this Authority; for besides this, I cannot imagin, what should make me not *dare to dispute the Authority* of one of *Bologna*, in a matter relating to the Government of *England*. But after the pains our Author has been at to depress the Dignity of the *Kings of England*, and the Capitals that he has bestowed upon it, I confess he needs no more deny that he pretends to a Pension from thence.

5. In conclusion, he cites his *Florimond*, tho he had the confidence to cite on the Margin the Articles of the *Parliament* 1509. but now he runs to his Author; but tho he has done himself the Honour as to say, he is his *Eccho*, yet I never heard of *Eccho*'s that repeated more than had been said: some repeat over and over again, but none add: yet Mr. *Varillas*, who cited *Florimond*, to prove that the *Parliament* had obliged the *King* by reiterated Remonstrances, to marry the *Infanta*, finds neither these *Remonstrances* nor the *Parliament* in the Citation that he gives us out of him: for he says only, *that the Princes, the Lords, the Council, and the People of England, approved of it by their consent, and made no Opposition to it.*

XXX. For the Kings five Children by Queen Catherine: He P. 206. brings again *Florimond*, who says, *She bore him three Sons and two Daughters*: and as if this had been a solid proof, Mr. *Varillas* triumphs and says, *He does not know upon what principle in Arithmetick I reckon, if I deny that 2. and 3. make 5.*
I think

I think I may allow Mr. *Varillas* so much of Arithmetick as this essay amounts to, but I will scarce allow him much more of it, or of any thing else.

XXXI. He does indeed give an Author here, for that which I thought was his own Invention: but still it is no other than *Florimond*. I do confess I read him very carelessly: I found *Sanders* was transcribed by him, and that he could not pretend to any good Information: but now I see one Writer of Legends refines upon another; and as Mr. *Varillas* adds some few things of his own Store to *Florimond*, so the other had added a great deal to *Sanders*; but his Voucher was an Author of so little credit, that I confess I read him so superficially, that finding some strokes in Mr. *Varillas* that were new to me, I fancied that he was the Author of them; but now I see he has an Author such as he is: For what he says concerning Flattery, it is to so little purpose, that I use him kindly in passing over it.

XXXII. He cites again *Florimond*; for his *Garand*; and because
 P. 218. he had it seems one of Mr. *Varillas*'s Artifices of citing boldly Papers that never were; and so cites those of Cardinal *Campege*, Mr. *Varillas* upbraids me with my not having seen them; but I believe both their Citations alike; I have indeed printed a long Letter of that *Cardinals*, writ to the *Pope*, in conjunction with Cardinal *Wolsey*, while he was in *England*, in which he asserts the Justice of the *Kings cause*, and presses him to give Sentence in his favour; he assures the *Pope*, that nothing but Conscience moved the *King* in the matter; and in short, says all that even Mr. *Varillas* would have said, if he had been animated with the prospect of a good Pension.

XXXIII. He says, *I contradict my*
 P. 222. *self, in denying that the K. of Scotland sought the Daughter of Henry the Eighth, & confessing it afterwards.* I denied only, that the Father had ever sought it, since he was dead before she was born; and here Mr. *Varillas* has the confidence to deny all that long
 Scheme

Scheme that he had given of the project that the *King of Scotland* had set on for his *Son*, so that the *Imposture of suppressing his Text* with which he charges me, lies on his side, and he leaves out all that he had said of the *Machines* that the *King of Scotland* was managing for his *Son the Prince*, who was no other than *King James the Fifth*, so the *King* must be *King James the Fourth* his *Father*: and for that which he says of *King James the Fifth* going with an *Army to France*, it fell out many years after this: so it could not be the Reason that made *King Henry* deny his *Daughter* to the *King of Scotland*, it being long after, even the year 1533. after which time he owns that he does not say, *that the King of Scotland pretended to her*: and whereas he pretends, that he only said, that *the Scots had pressed the Marriage*; that is one of his common practices, to which I will not give the name that it deserves; for he had expressly named both *the King and the Prince*, who he said *asked her with all the Submissions that were compatible with the Dignity of Sovereigns*: where-
as

as the one was dead before she was born, and the other was an Infant at that time. His Discourse of the Design of Uniting the whole Island into one *Monarchy*, and his taking a start over into *Spain*, is one of his Impertinencies, to which he fly's to cover his shame: and the Contradiction with which he charges me before he ends this Article, is worthy of him: He says, I own that King *Henry* was *Master of his Parliament*; and yet I denied, that his *Government was Tyrannical*. I never denied this last; on the contrary, I have set it out as fully as was necessary: but tho I had denied it, the saying that he was *the Master of his Parliaments*, is so far from being a Contradiction to that, that it agrees exactly with it. Queen *Elisabeth* was always *the Mistress of her Parliaments*, tho guilty of no *Tyranny*, and it was because she was no Tyrant, but governed well, that she was the *Mistress* both of her Peoples Hearts and Purfes, and likewise of her *Parliaments*: so the Triumph that he makes upon this Contradiction, which he says the most able Sophister of *Europe* will not be able

to set to rights, turns upon himself.

XXXIV. He pretends to justify his Impertinence in reckoning the *Emperour* and the *King of Spain* as two of the Pretenders to Queen *Mary*; by saying, that *Charles the fifth* was for three years *King of Spain* before he was chosen *Emperour*, and that during all that time, he pretended to her: but tho he cites his *Florimond* here, yet he finds no such thing in him, so that here the *Eccho* does not repeat, but speaks of it self: and as he cannot give the least shadow of proof for this confident Assertion of his, so he himself contradicts it in his own words, which he cites afterwards, in which he had said, that the *Emperour* P. 233.
was the second that pretended to this Princess: so then he was not only *King of Spain* but already *Emperour* when he began that pretension. All the digression that he makes concerning *Charles the fifth*, is a continued Impertinence to hide his Shame: the only thing he had to do, was to prove that he began that pretension while he was no more than *King of Spain*. 2. He tries how Raillery will do with him, because

I had only named *Arragon* and *Castile*, instead of the many other *Kingdoms* that lie within *Spain*: but he is equally sublime both in his *Ridicule* and his *serious strains*; for since the conjunction of all these *Titles* rise out of the Marriage between *Arragon* and *Castile*, I writ correctly in naming these two only, instead of all the rest that lay in *Spain*.

XXXV. Our Author will still justify what he had said concerning K. Henry's rejecting the match with *Scotland*, because the King of *Scotland* had declared himself for *France* during the last War, in which K. Henry had been engaged with *Francis*: now it is to be considered, that all the propositions for Queen *Mary* that our Author sets forth, fell out before the year 1527, in which the sute of the Divorce was begun; for after that time none courted her, as he himself confesses; therefore this War between *England* and *France*, in which *Scotland* took part with the latter, and for which the King lost his Unkles favour, must be before that time: since then there had been no war between *France* and *England* in which *Scotland* took part, after that bat-
tel

tel of *Floddon*, in which K. *James* the Fourth was killed, and after which during the interval between the year 1513. and the year 1527. which is the only time in debate, nor indeed for many years after it; all this is an ill-laid fiction, which destroys it self; so what K. *James* the fifth might do ten years after the year 1527. cannot be brought to excuse that which had been given for a reason of K. *Henry's* rejecting him before that year.

XXXVI. He accuses me for denying in one place *that the Emperour pretended next, and yet afterwards confessing it*: but I only excepted to this because he says, the *Emperour* pretended the second after the K. of *Scotland*; whereas I shew that the *Dolphin* was the first that pretended, and by the Contract for that Marriage, which is yet extant, it appears, that his dream of *Charles's* pretending to her while he was yet *King of Spain*, is not only without ground, but is a downright falsehood; for that contract bears date the ninth of *November, 1518.* so that during this Interval, in which *Charles* was only *King of Spain*, she was promised to another.

another. 2. Whereas I had discovered his Ignorance of those Transactions by this; that he knew nothing of *Charles* the fifth's coming to *England* in Person, to contract this Marriage; he tells me, that he had writ of this in his History of *Francis* the first, where he had mentioned his coming over from *Flushing* to *Kent*, while *K. Henry* was at *Calais*: but now I tell him plainly, that I see by his Citation, that neither before nor now, does he know any thing of the Voyage into *England*, of which I had made mention: for this that he speaks of here was in the year 1520. and the Interview was at *Dover*, and was design'd to hinder the ill effects which the *Emperour* apprehended from the late interview that had passed between *Henry* and *Francis*, that had carried him over to *Calais*: But that which I spake of was two years after this, in the year 1522. which passed with more Magnificence; for then the *Emperour* was Install'd Knight of the *Garter*, and contracted to King *Henry's* Daughter.

XXXVII. Concerning *Card. Wolsey*, he tells me, that if I have P. 250. seen some Manuscripts that never

never were in his hands, he has likewise seen those that have escaped me, and he mentions a Letter of Lewis the twelfth, in which Wolsey is so excessively commended, that it is neither suitable to the dignity of him that writ it, nor of him to whom it was writ, therefore he suppresses many particulars that are in it. Mr. Varillas's boasting of the Manuscripts that he has seen, is like the Chymists boasting of the *Philosophers stone*, which no body believes a whit the more for that. A Letter writ by so good a King as Lewis the twelfth, would be better received by the world than all that ever Mr. Varillas can print: yet since he pretends to be so good a Courtier, he should have thought it enough to say, that the strain of that Letter was *below the Dignity of him who writ it*, without adding any thing else of the *Dignity of him to whom it was written*, since unless it was to the K. of England, there is scarce any other person whose Dignity ought to be named as in parallel with that *Kings*. And since Wolsey was but just entering upon the *ministry*, when that King died, it is not probable that he fell into Raptures upon
that

that subject; but Mr. *Varillas* takes more care of *Lewis* the twelfth's honour in not printing it, than he does of his own. The rest of this Article is in Citations drawn out of *Florimond* and out of another much worse Author, who is Mr. *Varillas* himself.

XXXVIII. I had printed some Original *Letters* to discover his
 P. 257. mistake concerning *Wolfey*,
 and he in opposition to that
 cites what his *Florimond* had said eighty
 years before him; as if a Falshood by a
 prescription of 80. years, could be-
 come true: he adds, *that the proof that I*
had given to the contrary it not convin-
cing. The point in question, is, whether
 Cardinal *Wolfey* knew of the King's de-
 sign to marry *Anne Bullen*: now I had
 printed two of her Letters to the Car-
 dinal, in one of which there is a *Post-*
script writ by King *Henry's* hand, that
 speaks plainly of the thing. & they were
 both written while Card. *Campege* was
 on his Journey: any man besides Mr.
Varillas would think this a convincing
 proof; and whereas I had accused him
 for citing on the Margin
 P. 260. *Charles the fifth's Letters to*
Wolfey

Wolsey; he justifies this out of *Florimond*: if he had cited these as from him, I confess this would have justified him; but since he cited them without any such qualification, he shews us how little credit is due to his Quotations. I had called *Charles* the fifth coming to *England* in person, *The most important Circum-* P. 261.

stance in all this affair; and this he, according to his ordinary sincerity, turns, as if I had said, *that the secret of the Reformation consisted in that Voyage*. I was speaking of the Pretenders to *King Henry's Daughter*, and had not so much as the *Reformation* in view; so the affair upon which I was, being the disposal of *Queen Mary*, had reason to say, that the *most Important Circumstance* of it was the *Emperours* coming in person, and contracting himself to her. The raillery that follows here, is another proof that *Mr. Varillas* is equally happy both in *Jest* and *Earnest*. If I were to make my Court to the *Spaniards*, I must be as Ignorant as *Mr. Varillas* is, if I think to do it effectually, by representing *Charles* the fifth, as *having advanced the Reformation*.

XXXIX. He meets me here again with another long Citation of *Florimond*, which always goes for *nothing* with me. After which he says somewhat himself, that is next to *nothing*. I had told him, *That the new Treaty that King Francis had made with Henry for his Daughter, in an alternative between Francis and his second Son, was somewhat extraordinary: and if he had known it, it would have furnished him matter for his embelishments.* But to all this he says, he could not imagine how Francis, that was engaged by the Treaty of Madrid, to marry Charles the fifth's Sister, could court the Princess of England for himself, or his second Son; Since he was a Prince that valued himself extreamly on the keeping of his word. But the Treaty of Madrid was so ill executed by Francis, that there is no part of his life to which his Exactness to his word ought to be less applied than to this: yet in this he might have observed both Treatys; for since the Match with *England* was agreed in an alternative between him and his Son, it being left to himself to declare which

which of them should have her; it was easy for him to observe both these Treatys, by declaring that the *Duke of Orleans* should marry *Henry's* Daughter: and here our Author shews his Judgment in setting such Conjectures as his are, against matters so Authentically proved as this is.

XL. A new Justification from *Florimond* comes here again, with this *Preface*, that if *P. 267* he is deceived, it is after *Florimond*: but whose fault it is that he believed him, and copied him, notwithstanding all the noise he makes with his Manuscripts? He adds two of my Expressions, and fancies that there is a Contradiction in them: *That in this he differs from Sanders, tho he copies him ordinarily; for he says, If he invents matters, he does not copy him; and if he copies him, he does not invent.* But may he not Copy *Sanders* for the greatest part, and yet now and then invent a little without any Contradiction? There is a terrible charge against me in the Conclusion of this Article. In my *English* by a fault of the Printer, the year 1529. was put instead of the
F year

year 1524. and was marked in the *Errata*: now the Translator went on with the error that he found in my Book, and so the year 29. being wrong put, he triumphs: but since he pretends to answer me, he ought to have examined my *English*, and to have compared the *Errata*. So his accusing me of Impudence falls back on himself.

XLII. All that he says to this Article is, that he had writ it after P. 272. *Florimond*; and to prove this, he gives me a Citation of six Pages and a half long out of him. And is not this an unanswerable thing, that deserves well to be set in Opposition to Original Papers?

XLII. Here comes *Florimond* again; but because I had mentioned the Pictures of *Anne Bullen*, which shew that what was said of her person, was false: he tells me, that *Painters and Poets have always taken liberties*: and because his good Judgment made him fancy, that this wanted a proof, he gives me two storys to make it good. But after all, a *Painter* is as well to be believed as a *Poet* at any time: So I may set *Hans Holben*

Holben, that was a very good Painter, against two such ill Poets as *Florimond* and Mr. *Varillas*; the first saw her, and the others only heard of her; so they copied, whereas he drew to the life.

XLIII. Here again comes *Florimond* as his *Garend* for four Pages: and he thought it was necessary to produce him, since here, as almost every where else, I accuse him of a want of Sincerity; but I will never give over this Accusation, till he produce those Manuscripts, out of which he pretends to have drawn his *History*.

XLIV. After I had refuted *Sanders*, he tells me, this does not touch him, who had not made use of him: but if *Florimond* does in these *Lines* copy *Sanders*, then by refuting him, I refute all that Copy from him, whether it be at first or second hand. Mr. *Varillas*'s saying, that Cardinal *Pool* is the Writer of all the Catholicks that has blackned *Henry* the least, shews how carelessly he has read him, or how boldly he cites him; *Pool* compares *Henry* to the wickedest Princes in History,

and makes a War against him to be more meritorious than against Infidels. I had said, that the Calumnies, by which *Anne Bullen* was defamed not being objected to her, upon her fall, this shews, that they were not thought on in that Age: to this he answers, *That this shews the Moderation of the Catholics*; but the not mentioning such things in History, had been a *vicious Moderation*, and indeed their Writers of that Age, were as seldom guilty of any excess on that hand, as he himself is in this. He says also, that it was needless to speak of the former Scandals of her Life, after she was convicted of *Adultery* and *Incest* with her own *Brother*. But when both she and her *Brother* died, denying this, and that it was generally thought she suffered unjustly, then former Scandals should have been alledged to make the Justice of her Sentence appear the more evidently, therefore the silence of the Writers of that time, and upon that occasion, is still a good Negative Argument: but he turns this matter upon me with some shew of Reason,

Reason, and says, *That since none writ a justification of Anne Bullen, neither then nor afterwards, this is a just prejudice against her.* But the Unfortunate have seldom pens imployed for their Honour: and in Queen *Elisabeth's* time it was thought below the Dignity of the *Daughter*, to examin too critically all the Reports that malicious Writers had set on foot against the *Mother*. For if any impudent man would question the Birth and Descent of a *Crowned Head*, severer tools than *Refutations* are thought the properest ways of answering them. He then tells me, *why should I be believed more than the Catholick Writers?* But I ask not to be believed on my own word; but I have shewed the Impossibility of the story that *Sanders* and our Author from him, at second hand, had contrived of *Anne Bullen*; for what is impossible, can never be true, by my Logick; but our Author shews how little he ought to be believed upon his Word; for I having given for a proof of *Anne Bullens* good Reputation, this, that she served *Claude*, Queen of

F 3

France.

France, which he had set down truly in one page, but in the very next page being to repeat and examin this, he turns it as if I had made her serving *Lewis* the twelfth's second *Queen* a proof of her vertue. I knew the vertues of *Queen Claude* were as *sublime* as the others were *questioned*: therefore I had made her serving the one as an evidence of the good esteem in which she was; and this he would turn aside in a way very like himself: and whereas he had mentioned *English Authors*, in the *Plural*, and had set only *Sanders* on the Margin, I had reason to ask if he could make a plural out of him, as he had done out of *Charles* the fifth; he tells me, he had cited *Florimond de Raimond*; but I do not yet find another, to justify the plural of the *English*; for whatever Title the *King of England* may have to *Guienne*, so that *Florimond* may be reckoned in some sort among his Subjects, yet all this does not put him among the *English Authors*; so the *Sanders* is still all that we have for the *plural*; and all the Histories that have appeared since his time by the Writers of that *Communion*, are nothing but he over
and

and over again in different languages,
and a little differently drest.

XLV. He had cited a Petition to P.
Clement the 7. for which
I had accused him of *forgery*, P. 303.
and had told him, that he
shewed his ignorance since, tho the mat-
ter for which he invented it, is menti-
oned by Card. *Pool*, yet he was not so
well Informed as to cite him; now he
alleges *Florimond* as his *Garand* for that
citation, whose authority is of so little
credit; and yet he has the confidence
to think, that was a more formal proof
than if he had cited Cardinal *Pool*: as
if an Author that writ 80. years after
those matters, were to be put in com-
petition with Cardinal *Pool*, who li-
ved and writ in that time: he tells me he
had *Cardinaal Pools* book before his
eyes while he was writing; but by this
way of writing it seems he did not open
him; and his lying shut before him, could
not Inform him much when a Petition
was cited and brought in question: no
body besides Mr. *Varillas* would have
called the citing of an Author
that lived about 80. year after P. 306.
the going to the source for it.

XLVI. He gives me a notable proof
of the credit due to Florimond
 P. 310. *in the matters relating to the*
Bishop of Farbes: because he had
great engagements with that Bishops heirs,
so that it is very probable that they commu-
nicated to him that Prelate's Papers. And
 are not these very convincing Proofs?
 Sometimes a thing is to be believed be-
 cause it is not *Inconvenient*; at another
 time because it is *probable*: but when
 he comes to answer the Reason I had
 given to demonstrate all this story to be
 false, which was, that it is not to be
 imagined, that when that *Bishop* came
 to end the marriage of his Masters Son
 with the *Heir* of the *Crown* of *England*,
 that he I say could have been prevailed
 on to let that go and to set on a new
 Negotiation for *Henry's* marrying
Francis's sister. He sayes, that *Wolsey*
cheated the Bishop, and made him be-
lieve that the other marriage was sure:
notwithstanding this new Proposition.
 This is to make him resolve to accept
 the Marriage of one that was
 P. 226. to be declared a Bastard by the
 Divorce: and yet he acknowledg-
 ed before, that the *King of Scotland*
 would

would never ask her after that : But now he makes an Ambassadour of *France* lesse sensible of this point of Honour, and content to have both these Marriages made at once. But besides all this, the great advantage of Marrying the *Daughter of England*, was because she was the *Heir of the Crown*, so then if the Bishop of *Tarbes* would have concurred to help the *King* to another Marriage, by which that Succession might have been cut off from *Mary*, we must conclude him to be as fit a man for Negotiations as Mr. *Varillas* is for Histories or *Panegyricks*: but he must be pardoned; if he cannot alwayes carry up his Fictions to a probability. All that he adds of the *General powers* given to Ambassadors, upon which they depart sometimes from all their *Instructions*, and act contrary to them, has nothing to do here in a matter of such vast consequence especially when a few dayes delay, could have procured him positive Instructions upon any new propositions that might be made him.

XLVII. I had cited his words concerning Cardinal *Wolsey* exactly, and he repeats my quota-

P. 319.

F 5

tion

tion wrong, that he might give himself a colour to reproach me. Then he gives me a long Citation out of *Florimond*, and sends his Reader back to another that is much longer, and so he thinks all is well proved.

XLVIII. He argues against a positive Instrument, and thinks, P. 324. that some of the Probabilities that he offers, and *Florimond's* Testimony, ought to overthrow the plain Proof of a Matter of Fact.

XLIX. He opposes to what I had said concerning Sr. Thomas P. 228. *Wiat*, his constant Voucher *Florimond*, and then he runs out in his way to argue upon this Foundation of the Truth of that Testimony. But instead of pursuing him in such trifling stuff, I will here add a

more important Discovery of the Falseness of all Ex MSS. this matter by an Original Gul. Petyt Paper, which fell into my Ar. hands since I writ my History, but was not in my power when I writ my Reflections on Mr. Varillas, yet it comes in here properly enough. It is a long account that Sr. Thomas
Wiat

Wiats Son writ of that matter as soon as *Sanders's Book* appeared. He says, it was never so much as spoken of before that time: that his Father was *Squire* of the Body to King *Henry*, all the while that that Marriage with *Anne Bullen* lasted, and for many years after, and yet neither did he in discretion retire out of the Court, nor did the *King* seem jealous, nor the *Queen* offended at him: and he shews further the Improbability of the Fiction; for upon her fall it was very probable that as *Queen Catherine Howards* ill life, as well before, as after her Marriage, was examined, when she was condemned, so the like method would have been observed towards *Anne Bullen*, if there had been any room for it; and as to *Anne Bullen*, he says, that her Tryal was managed secretly in the Tower: and that the *Evidence* upon which it was pretended that she was condemned, was kept so secret among the *Peers* that tried her, that it was never certainly known: some of the *Lords* confessed afterwards, that her *Defence* had cleared her entirely; and to all this he adds one remarkable

markable particular, that there was none of all her *Ladies* brought to swear any thing against her; now it is certain, that no *Queen*, especially in such a Court as that of *England* was then, the Household being the greatest in *Christendom*, could be guilty of so many disorders as were laid to her charge, without taking some Woman into the Confidence, and yet none were either accused of it, or brought to Witness it. He adds, that his Father was afterwards *Ambassadour*, for several years, in *Charles* the Fifth's Court, where he conceived that aversion to the *Spaniards* and to their *Councils*, that this threw him into the *Rebellion* that he raised against *Queen Mary*, when she was treating about the *Spanish Match*:

for I must here warn the Reader, that Mr. *Varillas* transforms this *Wiat* into *Haviet*, and makes a long story of him elsewhere. In Conclusion, a man must be as ignorant of our Affairs as Mr. *Varillas* is, not to know that a Privy Councillor thinks an Ambassy no disgrace, but on the contrary, a preferment to him;

him; and those who know that by the forms of our Court, no *Officer* has a more free and frequent Access to the *Kings* person, than the *Squire of the Body*, tho he is but one of the second Rank in the Household, will see how ridiculous a contrivance all this story is, of *Wiat* having corrupted Anna Bullen, and his revealing it to the *Privy Council*, and their employing the *Duke of Suffolk* to acquaint the King with it, who was so far from believing it, that he would not accept the conviction that *Wiat* offered to his own eyesight; but on the contrary, disgraced him for it.

L. Here is a new long citation of his *Garand*; but at the end of it our Author seems not P. 340. to comprehend how *More* could be for the *Divorce*, without being for the *Schism*; and thinks the distinction is a little too Metaphisical: but the difficulty of apprehending this must lie in Mr. *Varillas*'s dulness; since there is nothing easier to be understood, than that *More* thought there was just reason to move the *Pope* to annul a Marriage, that had been made by vertue of a *Papal Bull*: and yet tho

More would have approved of the Divorce if it had been obtained in that manner; he did not like *K. Henry's* doing it by the Authority of his own *Clergy*, and his separating from the Court of *Rome* upon it. *More's works* make a huge thick Volum in Folio, and were printed in *Queen Mary's* time by her positive Order: and so great a Book, while Printing was yet so low as it was then in *England*, could not be so easily carried thro the Press, without some particular Assistance from the Court. All that understand *English* will see that I have cited his *Letters* true, and *Mr. Varillas's* Reasons against this is arguing against a plain Matter of Fact, which can make no Impression upon any mans spirit, unless it be to shew the Impertinence of him that undertakes it. After this there comes another Impertinence of a Citation of five Pages out of *Florimond*.

LI. Before I examin what he says concerning *Cajetan*, I will
P. 359. state the Matter in short: He had given a long Abstract of Reasons, which he had pretended to have drawn out of *Cajetan's Consultation*,

tion, that had no appearance of truth in them, such as that of the *blocking up of Constantinople, the avoiding to Marry in Houses, suspect of Heresy,* with several other Follys. I upon that concluded this must be as true as his other Quotations were; so I searcht for *Cajetans Works*, not having then by me those Extracts that I had made, when I writ my *History*. I found only at first his great Work on *Aquinas's Summs*, of which I made mention in my *Appendix*; but having after that found the *Consultation* it self, set down by *Raynoldus*, I desired the learned Author of the *Nouvelles of the Common-wealth of Learning*, to give notice in the Moneth of *April*, that I owned my mistake: but it was added in that Advertisement, *that I had as much reason as ever to say, that Mr. Varillas had not cited it as he ought to have done:* upon which he in his ordinary method of sincerity says, *that I had retracted all, and passed a condemnation upon my self,* P. 484. *for all that I had said concerning Cajetan.* If I were disposed to be Angry, or to use foul Language,
here

here is a just enough provocation on his part; but I do here repeat what I had said, that the whole Abstract that he had given of that *Consultation* in his History, is false in every one of the reasons, upon which he pretends, that *Cajetan* founded his Conclusion. The only thing that looks like an approach to Truth, is yet far from it; for he had said, *that Cajetan laid down this for a ground, that the High Priest under the Old Testament could dispence with such a degree of Marriage, and by consequence, that the High Priest under the New Testament must have the like Authority.* Now there is not a word of this in *Cajetan*, who knew too well that it was not the High Priest, but the expresse Letter of the Law, that allowed of such a Marriage under the Old Testament: So that *Cajetan* did not argue with relation to this particular case, but he argued upon the General topick, that *as under the Old Testament all hard Matters were to be referred to the High Priest's Decision, so the like ought also to be admitted under the New.* Now a man must be dull to Mr. *Varillas's* degree, not to see the dif-

difference that is between these two things. And as for all the other particulars that he had given as the abstract of *Cajetan's Consultation*, there is not one word of one of them to be found in it. He argues against that which in my *History* I prove, that the Pope ordered *Campana* to say to the King, by telling me, that if it is true, the Pope was the worst Politician that ever was, since he was then so much in the Emperour's power. But the Politick was not so bad as Mr. *Varillas* fancies, since *Campana's* words, tho he carried a credence with him, might have been easily disowned. Yet if this were not the case, must a plain proof be laid aside, because then the Pope was an ill Politician? No body besides Mr. *Varillas* would argue in this manner. His reasoning in what follows against positive proofs, is all of a P.366. piece; but because my *Garand* for this is not in an Author like *Florimond*, but in a Letter writ by *Cassali* an Italian, who was at that time the King's *Ambassadour* in *Rome*, and these words he uses, are of great consequence. I shall here set them down in Latin,

in, the Language in which they were
 writ, it bears date at *Orvieto* the 13
 of *January*. It is in the *Cotton Library*
 under *Vitellius B.10.* "Heri & hodie
 "ad multum diem sum allocutus San-
 "ctum Dominum nostrum de mittende
 "Legato : insequens ordinem à Re-
 "verendissimo Domino Eborac : suis
 "litteris 27. Decemb. mihi præscriptum
 "Pontifex ostendit se cupidissimum
 "satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentie, cu-
 "omnia se debere fatetur : & tum habuit
 "mecum longum de hac re Colloquium,
 "ut inveniatur modus omnia bene, fir-
 "me, & secure faciendi : quo facto &
 "tueri possit. Ideoque consulere voluit
 "judicium *Card. Sanctorum quatuor* &
 "*Simoneta* qui Excellentior & Doctior
 "Auditor Rotæ est : cum quibus sub
 "sigillo confessionis egit, ut ex eorum
 "consilio inveniatur modus ad moram
 "tollendam, & causam secure peragen-
 "dam. Atque ita Pontifex cum illis in
 "hoc quod sequitur se revolvit ; videtur
 "que optimus verus & securus modus : &
 "me rogavit ut nullo pacto dicam : hoc
 "obtinuisse ab ejus sanctitate sicut re-
 "vera obtinui : nam Cæsariani eum sta-
 "tim pro suspecto alligarent, sed quod
 dicam

dicam me habuisse à Cardinali sanctorum quatuor & à dicto Auditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere illic causam Cardinali, ratione commissionis quam attulit Secretarius vel propria autoritate Legationis quod facere potest: & ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam persentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte possit facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo est qui de hac re melius discernere possit quam ipse Rex. Itaque si in hoc se resolverit ut Pontifex credit, statim causam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem sequatur mittatur publice pro legato qui consistorialiter mittetur. Now I think I have given him a Citation in *Latin*, that is a little more to the purpose than that he gave me out of *Cajetan*: and let him argue against this as long as he will. He will needs justify what he had said of the *Blocking up of Constantinople*, and tells me, that *Pope Pius* the Second projected it: but he had cited this out of *Cajetan*, and I tell him positively it is not in his *Consultation*: so he is an Impostor still, tho this may have been projected at some other

other time. I do not think it worth the while to examin *Pius* the Se-
P. 368. cond's project for ruining the *Turkish Empire* : but I am sure, it is not in *P. Leo* the Tenth's, which was made nearer this time, tho that has so many impracticable things in it, that this might have well enough accompanied the rest ; I had
P. 369. also said, *That the Princes of that time had not fleets of men of war* ; and he tells me of some Fleets that the Republick of *Venice* had : but tho their *Doge* is called the *Prince*, yet nobody reckons that *State* among *Princes*. Yet here he has got an occasion to digress, and to talk of the Fleets of the *Venetians*, which he does with so little judgment as to tell us of three stately Fleets that perished in the design of seising the Town of *Ferrara*, and another stately Fleet appeared on the Lake *Benaccio*, and made it inaccessible to all other Vessels, except those of the Republick. But sure Mr. *Varillas* intends to bring the scorn of all the world upon himself, since he talks of gallant fleets. to come up the *Po*, or to go upon the *Lago di Guarda* : and I would gladly know

know by what Machines the *Republick* conveyed their Fleet into that *Lake*. It is almost a shame to answer a man that writes at this rate. The other two particulars, concerning the *Peace of Italy*, and the keeping Henry from marrying into Families suspect of *Heresy*, are also falsely cited out of *Cajetan*; but he does not say a word to justify this, and does not so much as give a shadow of a proof that Pope *Julius* designed to settle the *Peace of Italy*, but much to the contrary; for that of hindring K. Henry from marrying into Houses suspected of *Heresy*, he says, *it is the part in which, I treat him with the greatest Injustice, and for which he has the justest occasion to complain of me*: and yet after all, he confesses it is *wrong*, and lays the blame of it on his *Compositor*, so that he would make it only an Error of the Press; but yet this is so expressed, that it seems there is some other thing under it, and what ever may be in it I vehemently suspect that there is no truth at all in it, and I am neither bound to know how Matters go between his *Compositor* & him,

him, nor to believe so unlikely a thing as that he put *Hereſie* inſtead of *thoſe who were ſuſpect to the Holy See*. He ſays, *his weak ſight makes him correct the proofs by the eyes of another* : but if he Employed his *Ears*, he might have corrected this, without ſtraining his *Sight* : in ſhort, it had been good for the Age, that both his *Sight* and his *hearing* had failed him long ago, for then the world had not been troubled with ſuch a ſet of Impoſtures as he has given it. He has much more material faults to

answer for than the putting
P. 377. *Squadrons* for *Bataillions* for which he makes ſuch an excuſe.

LII. *Beauvais* for *Belcaire* is a fault of the Impreſſion in the
P. 380. *French*, and in my *Engliſh* it is *Belcaire* : he ſets up here again his probabilities againſt the poſitive Proofs that are among the *Acts* which I have printed that ſhew the truth of this concerning a *Bull* of diſſolving the Marriage that was ſent over by Cardinal *Campege* ; but all this is already ſhewed to be ſo ridiculous, that I will ſay no more of that ſubject.

LIII. He makes me guilty of a Con-
tra-

tradiction for saying, that he adds no new matters of fact to those mentioned by Sanders; P. 385. and yet adding, that he had Invented somewhat: but this was only a Circumstance of the time, when the Queen went out of the Court; so this is not to be reckoned among the *Matters of fact*: yet after all, he shews me indeed, that *Florimond* had said this, which I had believed was an effect of his own Invention; so that I find I judged too well of his *Invention*, in ascribing to him those *Romantick tours* that he gave matters; for I find he had these furnished him by another: This is all that he does in the 54. *Article*; for after a dull saying over and over again, that he was not guilty of those things for P. 391. which I had charged him, he again justifies himself by his *Florimond*.

LIV. And this is all he says likewise upon the next *Article*, only because I had shewed him P. 394. that the *Queens Cause* could not be pleaded by her *Advocates*, after he had declined the *Court*, this being a Universal rule, that is founded on a clear a principle, that I had thought even

even Mr. *Varillas* could not be ignorant of it; that when one declines a Court, he can no more plead before it, since by pleading before it he passes from his *Declinator*; he, after he has shewed that he took this from

P. 396. *Florimond*, concludes in those dreadful words, *Dare I doubt*, that this Author did not know the forms of Courts, since he was so long a Councillor in a Parliament, where this Practice is followed with as much regularity as in any place in the World? but I am not so soon frightened as Mr. *Varillas* fancies: for I dare do any thing that I think fit to be done: and I do not see what should appear in this, that is so terrible; for tho I were in the hands of that Parliament, I do not believe they would use me ill, for saying, that one of their body writ once Impertinently concerning the forms of proceeding: but I dare not only *doubt* of this, but because of this I dare *doubt* yet much more than I did, concerning the Author of this Book; and if it is not likely that a Councillour of Parliament could be guilty of such a Mistake, which I confess I think he could hardly commit unless

unless he was as Ignorant as Mr. *Varillas* is, then this makes it more probable, that he was not the Author of that *Book*, but that *F. Richeome* writ it, and published it in *Florimond's* name; for a mistake in a point of form might be justly enough supposed in the one, without any great derogation to him, but not in the other.

LVI. Upon the 56. *Article* there is nothing but two short Citations out of *Florimond*. P. 398.

LVII. He cites again the same Voucher: and because he thought it would be a little offensive to me, he runs out in an Inve-ctive against King *Henry*, in which I am no way concerned, having writ of him with all the freedom that became a sincere *Historian*: yet in one thing I must tell Mr. *Varillas*, that his heat carries him a little too far, when he says, that for four hundred years, there had been no Prince who had put to death more of his Subjects than he had done, when there was neither War nor Rebellion in the case. I have examined in my *Reflections* on his second Volum, a long List he had given, of all that King *Henry*
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had put to death, and have shewed him, that there is not one Article of all the ten that he gives, that is either true, or so much as near truth: and that those who suffered upon the account of his Supremacy, and that were not either in actual Rebellion, or in Conspiracies for raising one, were not above twelve persons: and I believe it is possible to find out *Princes* within much less than four hundred years, that have put more of their Subjects to death, upon the account of Religion.

LVIII. He gives no other justification of all he had said to
P. 409. blacken *Cranmer*, but his constant Voucher *Florimond*: and yet he appeals to the *Publick* upon this: and thinks the Quotation he brings is an *entire Justification*: but whether He or I knew *Cranmer's* Character better, and gives it truer, will be no hard point to decide: he never saw any thing concerning him, but *Florimond's History*: and I have perused many *Volumes* writ with his own hand, besides a vast number of *Letters*, that were writ by him, and to him: yet as for *Cranmer's* being made the *King's* Chieff Minister,
Florimond

Florimond says not a word of that, so that Mr. *Varillas*, who had asserted it, does not find an *entire Justification* in his *Florimond*.

LIX. Mr. *Varillas*, who is Ignorant of every thing, cannot bear the least Imputation of *P. 416.* Ignorance; for commonly men are tender when they know their own defects: and tho it had been no heinous matter, if he had been thought a little unacquainted with the *Laws of England*; for I have discovered his Ignorance in other things that are less pardonable; yet he is so uneasy at this, that he cannot bear my saying, that such matters were above *men of his form*: and upon that he says, he *does not know whether he or I has studied the Law most*: and no more do I: but I am sure, if he was long at that Study, he has spent both his time and his money to very little purpose: and if he is no better *Lawyer* than he is *Historian*, I doubt he will hardly ever recover the Money that he laid out on that *Study*. I assure him, I will not compare with him in any thing; and I do not know a greater Injury that can be done me in

G 2 such

such matters, than to be put into a comparison with him. But to convince his *Reader* of his Learning in our *Law*, he gives us another long Quotation out of *Florimond*, which is all the rest of this *Article*.

LX. He justifies his saying, *that Audley the Chancellour was P. 419. meanly born* : he cites an Author that had mentioned the mean-birth of a *Chancellour*; and says, this was necessary for the *History*, to shew what a sort of men King *Henry* imployed; but what needs all this? I had only said, that the raising a man of a mean-birth to that post, ought not to be taken notice of, as a very extraordinary thing, since it is very ordinary to see men of the Profession of *Law* raised upon their merit to that Dignity. If he had been to write that *Audley's* life, I acknowledge he must have mentioned his Birth, but since his Hero Chancellour *More* was of no better extraction, I am not yet convinced of the Importance of this Reflection; and Mr. *Varillas* will do wisely for himself not to examin too anxiously the birth of the *Chancellours* of *Europe*, for this
last

last Age : but in conclusion, a Quotation of *Florimond's* comes to set all right : yet even in it, *Audley* is not said to be a *Churchman* ; so here the *Eccho* did not repeat, but speak.

LXI. Here again, *Florimond* is brought out, with the honorable Character that Mr. *Varillas* assumes, of being his *Eccho*, which must pass for one of his *Sublime* Strains. But here I must explain one part of my Book ; for some have mistaken my *Reflections* in one point, as if at every time, that I speak of Mr. *Varillas's Religion*, I had meant of the Religion of the *Church of Rome* ; but they do me wrong ; for I mean it only of *his Religion* in particular, according to the notion that he gives us of it, that it *enslaves a mans powers so far as to hinder him from examining whether what he writes is true or false*. All the rest of his *Article* is a sequel of such Impertinences, that I grow weary to examin them, as well as the Character that he gives his *Florimond*, as an *Author that is worthy of Credit*, against whom the English have never

G 3 excepted.

excepted. But if they have always excepted against Sanders, who is copied by him, than there is no reason to expect that we should have any regard to him. His Excuse for his P. 429. *turning the Affairs of Amours so ill*, is like himself; this it seems went to his heart; for tho I have destroyed his credit as a Writer of *History*, yet there is some comfort left, if he may be still considered at least a good Author of *Romances*.

LXII. He thinks, *It is the chief of all the Qualities necessary for* P. 432. *the writing of History, to be able to describe the Intrigues of great men in the matters of Amour; and if he has not that, as he reproaches me for denying it to him, since I had allowed him all the good qualities of a Historian, except that of Truth, those who praise his works chiefly in this point, are much deceived: and then he justifies himself with a Quotation out of Florimond.* I will not dispute much with him whether the quality of setting forth *Amours*, is the Principal one of a *Historian*: tho I do not deny but in a *Reign of much Dissolution*, this is necessary:
but

but I will add, that this is the hardest to be found out unless one has lived in the time; for those are matters in which, as it is easy to slander, so the only persons who know those Secrets, are very shy of writing them, and are generally men of Pleasure themselves, and not much given to writing. I have already satisfied Mr. *Varillas* by my retracting the praises that I had undeservedly given him: but I find he would let that of Truth go, and would compound the matter, if he might but have the other Qualities allowed him: but now I am worse-natured, and will allow none of them to him: and I as little believe what he says of the *Praises that some give his works, on that account*, as I do his other Quotations. After this he calls me *the rashest* P. 433. *of all men*; this from any man but him, would have put me in some disorder; but I know his way of writing now too well, to be alarmed at any thing he can say. One should have thought that I had robbed Churches, or coined money, or done some very hardy thing, to deserve to be called *the rashest of all men*; but all is safe:

for my only Crime is, that I had denied an Assertion of his so *modestly* as only to say, *I had never found it in any Author*; upon which he pretends to infer, *That to justify this, I must say two things; the one, that I have read all Books, whether printed or Manuscripts; the other is, that I have forgot nothing of that which I have read: which two things, says he, very gravely, are not found in any one man without a miracle.*

Tho I should have thought, that neither the one nor the other could be found in any man without a miracle: and now is it not evidently made out, that I am the *Rashest* of all men?

LXIII. Here again comes the often named *Voucher*; and after that

P. 435. comes another piece of our Authors reasoning: I had shewed him, that King *Henry*, when he pretended to obtain his Divorce, had argued upon the principle of *Tradition*; which is so much considered in the Church of *Rome*; and that it had been made out, that the Tradition of the whole Church all down to *Cajetans* time, was clearly of the *King's* side: since the degrees of Marriage prohibited

bited in *Leviticus*, had been considered in all the Ages of the Church as Moral and Indispensable Laws: so I had added, that according to the Principles of the Church of Rome, his Marriage with his Brothers Wife was Unlawful: He reproaches me for this, since I am of a Religion that rejects Tradition absolutely. But still it made the Kings cause good against that Church, which makes Tradition the only sure Expounder of Scripture: for if the Tradition was here of the King's side, then all Cajetans Reasoning against it, was no more to be considered than according to themselves Luther's and Calvin's ought to have been: besides, we of the Reformed Religion do not so absolutely reject all Tradition, as not to accept of it according to the famous expression of Vincent of Lerins, *When the Tradition is Universal in all Times and in all Places.*

LXIV. He pretends to justify Cardinal de Bellay's words concerning the Zealous Catholics, P. 441. as if by the Zealous were to be understood the False Zealots. But this same expression, without

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any such qualification, returns so often in his third and fourth *Tomes*, always indeed when he had occasion to speak of the *Rebels in England*, that I have reason to believe, that he adds this of *False Zealots* now, because he dares not say otherwise, when he is forced to explain himself; but his hardiness in denying that the *Sorbon* in the time of the *League*, or that Cardinal *Perron* in his *Harangue to the third Estate*, did own that doctrine of *deposing Heretical Princes*, is no surprise to me, since it comes from him; for I can assure him, that I am past the being amased at his Ignorance, or his Confidence, either in asserting or denying. If any *Protestants* have failed in their duty to their *Princes*, it was not an effect of their *Religion*, as it is in the Church of *Rome*; it being decreed by

a General Council, that
 The fourth Council of
 the Lateran.
 3. Popes may depose Heretical
 Princes, and absolve
 their Subjects from their
 Allegiance. So that Pa-

pists when they rebel, act as good Pa-
 pists: whereas *Protestants* that rebel, act
 against their Principles, and as bad *Pro-*
testants.

LXV, Mr. *Varillas* appeals to all those, who do him the honour to read his Book. It is certain, P. 446. that those who read it, do him more honour, than they do themselves. He says here, that two years had passed after King *Henry's* Marriage with *Anne Bullen*, when the Cardinal *de Bellay* was in *England*; whereas it is clear, that only one year had passed; for she was married the 14. of *November* 1532. and the Cardinal *de Bellay* came to *London* in *November* 1533. but so small a fault as two years for one, is inconsiderable: and tho he had himself in his History said, that she was married the 22. of *November* 1532. yet now, when a turn was^d to be served by a bold denial, he was more hardy, than to stick either at contradicting himself, or me; but tho he will perhaps be easily reconciled to himself, yet I am not so ready to forgive such faults. He accuses me for having said, That the Pope had sent a formal Assurance to the King, that he would Judge in his Favour. I cited for this in my History an Original Letter of the Archbishop of *York's*, and of *Tonstal* Bishop of *Dur-*

res^m, that affirm positively, that the Pope had promised, that he would judge for the King against the Queen, if he would but send a Proxy to Rome, because he knew his Cause was good & just: This and F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent, are two such Authorities, that I will forgive him every thing that he advances on such grounds. He ends this *Article* with his ordinary stile of boasting his having read all the Original Letters of Cardinal de Bellay, that are in Mr. de la Moignon's hands, and I believe this as I do the rest of what he affirms.

LXVI. He denies he had said that for which I had cited him concerning the passages into Italy being stopt by the *Emperour's* Garrisons, and he hoped his Readers would believe him, when they saw a Quotation of almost a Page out of him, in which that is not to be found; but he just begins his Quotation, at the words that follow a whole Page that he had spent upon that for which I had cited him. This is a Confidence in Disingenuity, that never man that I know of, assumed before himself, and

and I beg the Readers to turn his Books here, and examín this: for by this one essay they may judge of his Sincerity. It is in the 287. Page of the *Edition of Amsterdam*; he begins to cite the last words of the Page, and passes over the half of a Page that went before; because it contained that which I had mentioned, and which he here denies, and says, *he never thought it*; and upon this single point, I desire that his sincerity may be measured. The comparing his *History* and my *Reflections*, and his *Answer* in this particular, will be no great trouble, and I promise my self, that most Readers will be so complaisant as to grant me this Favour; for I cannot bring my self to submit to the labour of copying out so much impertinence.

LXVII. He had set down *Queen Catherine's death* after the Session of *Parliament*: so I P. 455. reckoned that he intended to make his *Reader* believe, that she died immediatly after: now he owns, that as I had accused him, it was two year after the *Parliament* before the *Queen* died, and he fancies to save all this, because

cause he had begun *a linea* ; but I am not bound to guess that *a linea* in his stile stands for two years: all Historians carry on the series of time in their Narrations; or if some remarkable Circumstances makes them at any time break it, they warn their *Reader* of it: and if warning is not given, a *Reader* naturally reckons, that the series goes on, and that it is not discontinued by every *a linea*. But he neglects the main point of this *Article*, which is, the false Date that he gives with his usual Confidence to that famous Session of *Parliament*, that enacted the Breach between *England* and the *See of Rome*.

LXVIII. He cites a whole Page out of his own *History*; for P. 458. he is here his own *Eccho*: and tho every tittle of it is false, he concludes it in these word, *Is there any thing here that deserves the least Censure?* But is there any Censure so severe, as that he gives not here so much as his *Florimond* for his *Garand*? So here again the *Eccho* speaks. I had said, that *it is certain, King Henry pretended not to have seen any thing that could any way disgrace Anne Bullen:*
and

and he fancied I had said, that he had *owned this*; upon which he protests, *that he neither thought it, said it, nor writ it; and that it could not be found in any page of his Books.* But I can assure him, when I say, *it is certain*, I never think of him: for his *Authority* and *Certainty* are the two things in the World, that are the most opposite to one another in my thoughts. I had denied that any thing had appeared in the Tilting at *Greenwich*: but to prove the contrary of this, he gives me two Arguments that are equally strong: The one is, that once at *Naples* something like this fell out, and the other is *Florimond's* Authority; and if I will not believe these two, he leaves me to my Incredulity.

LXIX. He says, *I shew a very good Opinion of my self, if I expect to be believed in this* P. 467. *point, whether Anne Bullens Father was one of her Judges, against all other Writers.* No, it is only that I have a good opinion of my eye-sight, and that, having seen the Original Record, and marked the place where any body else may see for it, I expect
to

to be believed beyond those who write only upon Hear-say : and when our Author gives such marks of sincerity in his Quotations, as I have done in mine ; then if I question his *Papers*, he may use the right of *Reprisal* upon me ; but this is the case between us.

LXX. He tells me the use of the term *Stoical* is now altered P. 468. in *France* ; if it is so, I was not bound to know that : but this ought not to come into so high a reckoning. The term *Stoical* is understood to be affected to that Philosophy, whose character was an *Insensibility* and a *constant equality of temper* ; so I had reason to say, this was ill applied to *Anne Bullen*. The little he says after this, is so slight, that I cannot dwell upon it : every *Reader* will see, that he had a brow of a peculiar composition, that could say, that I had added nothing in those *Articles* that are in my *Appendix* ; and that I had only repeated those things that I had already said in my *Reflections* : and because he knew he could answer no part of it, he thought the more dextrous way of avoiding to do it, was to send his *Reader* back to the

the former parts of the Book: hoping no doubt that they would not be at that pains, and so he fancied he had very artificially put all that by him; but as my *Appendix* contains not any one thing that was in the former part of my Book, so he had not answered any one tittle in it in those parts to which he sends his *Reader*; yet if he does not answer that which I had said, he makes me say that, which I had not said concerning *Cajetan*, as appears by the words which are upon the first Page, of the *Nouvelles of the Commonwealth of Learning* for the Month of *April*.

And now Mr. *Varillas* sees, that those great *Affairs*, that as he tells me, are upon my hands, have not hindred me from dispatching so small a one as his is. Neither this, nor the *Continuation* of my *Reflections* on his second *Volum*, could hold me long. I should have had both many scruples and much uneasiness upon me, if this had required much of my time; but I have prevailed with my self to bestow a week on each of them. If it were a matter of any Importance on which I had

had writ, I should have thought, that the owning the hast in which it was writ, was a disparaging of it: but since it was imploy'd in so mean and so easy a performance, I think it is a Justification of my self to confess the speed I made in it. It will perhaps be a little longer a digesting to Mr. *Varillas*, than it was a preparing to me. One Proof will quickly appear whether the world is so satisfied with his Answer, as upon that to return to any tolerable thoughts of his *History*; for I have been informed from *England*, that a Gentleman, who is famous both for *Poetry and several other things*, had spent three moneths in translating Mr. *Varillas's History*, but that as soon as my *Reflections* appeared, he discontinued his Labour, finding the credit of his Author was gone: now if he thinks it is recovered by his Answer, he will perhaps go on with his *Translation*: and this may be, for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him as the conversation that he had set on between the *Hinds* and the *Panthers*, and all the rest of the *Animals*; for whom Mr. *Varillas* may serve well enough as an
Author

Author; and this *History* and that *Poem* are such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but futeable to see the *Author* of the *worst Poem*, become likewise the *Translator* of the *worst History*, that the Age has produced. If his *Grace* and his *Wit* improve both proportionably, we will hardly find that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no *Religion* to choose *one* of the worst. It is true, he had somewhat to sink from, in the matter of *Wit*, but as for his *Morals*, it is scarce possible for him to grow a *worse man* than he was. He has lately wreaked his Malice on me for spoiling his three moneths labour; but in it he has done me all the the honour that any man can receive from him, which is to be railed at by him. If I had ill nature enough to prompt me to wish a very bad wish for him, it should be, that he would go on and finish his *Translation*: by that it will appear, whether the *English Nation*, which is the most Competent Judge in this matter, has upon the seeing our Debate, pronounced in Mr. *Varillas's* favour, or in mine. It is true,
M. D.

M. D. will suffer a little by it, but at least it will serve to keep him in from other Extravagancies: and if he gains little Honour by this work, yet he cannot lose so much by it as he has done by his last Imployment.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have perhaps said already more than enough for laying open those *Histories* that have appeared hitherto with so much pomp: and that have been received much more favourably than they deserved. It is perhaps a little too cruel in me, to pursue Mr. *Varillas* so closely, when he has drawn the Indignation of all the World upon himself. Mr. *Hesier* was not satisfied to call him an *Impostor*, and an *Author of Romances*, in a private Letter to a Friend, but was willing to let this be published, that all the world might likewise know it: and Mr. *Larroque* has laid open.

open his Errors and Impostures so copiously, that he has at the same time discovered his own Learning and Exactness, as well as the Ignorance and the Falsehoods of Mr. *Varillas*, in which he has shewed himself to be the worthy *Son* of so great a *Father*, and has given such an Essay of what may be expected from him upon greater occasions, that the world will long for more of the Production of such a Pen. But because Mr. *Varillas* intends to treat all *Nations*, and all *Illustrious Families* alike, ill, and to shew that he is equally ignorant and bold with them all: I will only add here one part of the *Remarks* that those *learned Persons* who publish the *Abstracts of Books* in *Leipsig* have made on him, in the account of the moneth of *October*, 1686.

In which after they have shewed, that he writes almost all names false; that he confounds the Order of time, and the persons concerning whom he writes; that he does not know the *Map of Germany*, nor the situation of *Towns*, or the division of the *Circles*, nor the Interests in which the *Princes of Germany* were at that time; that he
contra-

contradicts in one part of his Book what he had said in another; that he sets down the *Reformation* of *Leipsig* 18. years before it was done; he who was their *Prince* all that while, having been so noted an Enemy to that work; that the whole Relation he gives of *Fronsberg*, is false in all the parts of it, as well in the Character of the Man, as in his Actions, and both in his own death and in the death of his Children; besides all these, in every one of which they give a great many Instances, they conclude with that which is more remarkable, and in which their duty to their *Prince* made them the more concerned, since it touches one from whom the *Elect* of *Saxony* is lineally descended by the Maternal Line. The fault is indeed worthy of Mr. *Varillas*, and in that I say a great deal: it is this,

Mr. *Varillas* says, That
Lib. 7. Albert of Brandenburg, who
p. 89. from being Master of the Teu-
 tonick Order, was made
 Duke of Prussia, did when he was 69.
 years old (he adds compleat, for he loves
 to be exact) married Dorothee, Princess
 of Holstein (tho she was indeed
 Daughter

Daughter to *Frederick the First King of Denmark*) that *She who was very young, consented to the Marriage, hoping he would shortly dye, and that so She would carry away a vast Fortune with her; but She was notably deceived; for She quickly bore him a Son, which cut off her hopes of having his Wealth: but which was worse, She spent 30. years of her life with him, so long did he live after their Marriage.*

But *Mr. Varillas* might have found the Falseness of all this out of the common Genealogists, and in particular out of *Chytraeus*, whom he cites. *Albert* was born in the year 1490. and married the Daughter of *Denmark* in the year 1525. which was in the 35. year of his Age. She bore him several children, but one Daughter only came to Age, who was married to the Duke of *Meklebourg*. She died after they had lived 22. years together: and after that in the year 1550. when *Albert* was now 60. year old, he married to a Daughter of the House of *Brunswick*, by whom he had the Son, that succeeded him in the Dutchy of *Prussia*: he had also many Daughters by her,
of

of whom one was married to the *Elect* of *Saxony*, and another to the *Elect* of *Brandenbourg*, and the rest to other *Princes*: and this *Albert* died in the year 1568. in the 78. year of his Age, which one would have thought was a great Age: but Mr. *Varillas* must be *Sublime* in every thing, so he makes him to have lived till he was 99. Some have wisht that such hints as these are might be furnished from the men of the several *Nations* that Mr. *Varillas* has brought into his *History*: for it must be confessed, that no man has ever taken so much pains to make himself be so generally decried as he has done, by giving every Kingdom an *Act* in his *Play*; that so all *Europe* over he may be equally despised: and therefore all further pains concerning him may be well superseded. I am sure, I am more than weary of him.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 11. line 4. after *Library* put, . P. 21.
 l. 28. any expression r. my exception. P. 39. l. 5. was
 r. is. P. 49. l. last, inspected r. suspected. P. 56. l. 9.
 besainted r. beated, P. 77. l. 14. ninth r. fourth.
 P. 80. l. 15. deny'd r. said. P. 91. l. 2. which r. shat.
 P. 102. l. 25. the r. that.

A
Continuation
OF
REFLECTIONS
ON

Mr. VARILLAS's
History of Heresies.

Particularly on that which Relates to

ENGLISH AFFAIRS

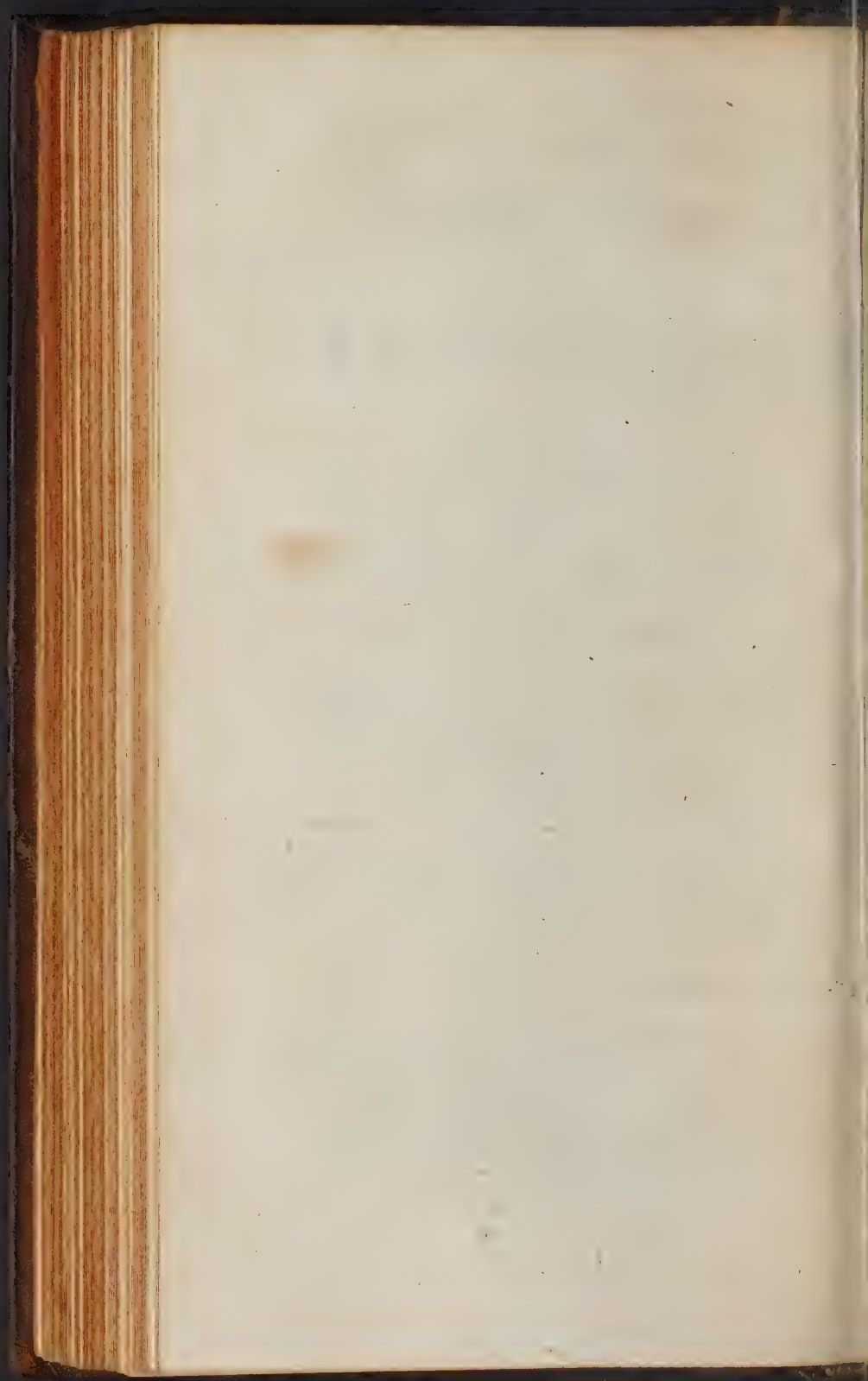
In his Third and Fourth Tomes.

By G. BURNET, D.D.

AMSTERDAM,

Printed for J. S.

1687.





P R E F A C E.

ALL that is necessary to be said in the way of a *Preface* to these *Reflections*, is, that the References made here to Mr. *Varillas's History*, are according to the *Paris Edition*; these *Reflections* were writ before the *Dutch Edition* appeared, otherwise the *Pages* should have related to both, according to the one and the other: This will be some Inconvenience to those who have only the latter: But since I was resolved to attack

P R E F A C E.

Mr. *Varillas* in an *Edition*, for which he was accountable; and to do it with such expedition, that his Book might have as little time to do Mischief as was possible. I hope the Reader will forgive me the Trouble to which he is put, in seeking out the Places on which I make my *Reflections*.

G. BURNET.

RE-

E R R A T A.

Page 32. line 24. *days* read *Dates*.

P. 44. l. 9. *Surrendess* r. *Surrenders*.

P. 129. l. 25. *any* r. *many*.

REFLECTIONS

On that which relates to
 ENGLISH AFFAIRS,
 In the *Third* and *Fourth* Volum of
 Mr. *Varillas's* History of *Herefies*.

MR. *Varillas* thinks, that all his Imaginations are matters of such Importance, that they deserve to be presented to the *King*; and because *Panegyricks* are things acceptable to *Princes* as well as to all other men, he it seems has projected one; and that we may judge of the piece by a pattern, he lets the *King* of *France* know, that he has found out two extraordinary Subjects for the enriching that Master-piece of his Eloquence, which perhaps he has in design, that when the quality of an Historian fails him, yet his appointments may be continued to him as the Kings *Panegyrist*. But if one expects common things, he is much mistaken: for as Mr. *Varillas* has told us,

B that

2 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

that he loves to rise above the *Vulgar*; so he has found out a Topick for his *Masters* praise, on which no man would ever have thought besides himself: some have compared the *King* to *Alexander the Great*, and others to *Augustus*; some to *Trajan*, and others to *Charles the Great*: in short, all that is most eminent in Ancient or Modern *History*, has been brought forth to raise his *Glory*: but no body before Mr. *Varillas* thought, that it would raise the *Kings* Character much, to give him the preference to a *Woman*: yet since he thought that stroke was wanting to make a compleat *Panegyrick*, one would have expected to have seen some of the Chief of the Sex brought out, a *Semiramis*, a *Zenobia*, or for all her *Heresy* a *Queen Elisabeth*, had made the comparison less odious: but to set the short and despised Reign of a *Princess*, that drew on her self the Aversion of her *Husband*, and the contempt of all her *People*, in any sort of comparison with *Lewis le Grand*, is a *sublime* becoming our Author. But as the comparison and the preference is a strain a little
too

too humble for the present *Reign*, so the two points on which this part of his piece of Oratory is to be enlarged, are mistakes of such a nature, that I do not know how a man could contrive it to put *two* such conspicuous ones in so remarkable a part of his book.

The *one* is, that Queen Mary *satisfied her self with the re-establishing of the Catholick Religion in her Dominions, without endeavouring to destroy the Calvinists: whereas His Majesty has not stoppt half way, as that Princess did:* and here he tries the full strength of his *Sublime* to set forth the *Kings Glory* in his extirpating *Heresy*. But one would be tempted to ask Mr. *Varillas*, whether he has ever read the History of that *Queens* Reign or not: for by his way of writing, one is disposed to believe, that he knows not yet what her Reign will be when he comes to write it: he has not yet made her Character: he thought softness became the Sex; so it seems he will represent her gentle and feeble in all her actings: and it must be so, otherwise the *Panegyrick* will be quite spoiled; but what

B 2

will

4 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth.*

will our *Author* say when he finds there were two hundred eighty four burnt by her: that *She* was not satisfied with all the *Laws* that had been anciently made against *Heresy*, nor with executing them with a rigour that had nothing of the softness of her Sex in it: *Bishops* and other *Churchmen* being put in prison long before those severe *Laws* were made, and kept there till there should be colour in Law to make them Sacrifices to the zeal of the *Priests*: *she* was apt enough to shew Mercy on all other occasions, but was never guilty of any towards *Hereticks*: she gave *Commissions* that came very near the Courts of *Inquisition*; and besides the evidences of those that I have given in my *History*, I have since that time seen a Register of the *Earl of Sussex's* Letters, and in it there is a Secret Article of the Directions that the *Queen* sent him, in which he is ordered to have two or three Spies in every Parish, who should be engaged by Oath to observe and discover every mans behaviour, and upon whose Informations

mations men were to be examined and punished, without discovering the Informers: this was to act in the Spirit of an *Inquisition*; all the difference was, that Lay-men had still the management of it, who have naturally Bowels and Compassions, which is defaced by the indelible Character. The *Queen* set on the Persecution with so much rigour, that she herself writ Letters to animate even the bloodiest of all the Bishops, *Bonner*, if at any time Compassion softned his spirit a little. There were eight, ten, and thirteen sometimes burning all in one fire, neither Age nor Sex made any difference, and the Cripple and the Blind were burnt at the same stake. Now I do not deny but Gallies and Dungeons, and a butcher-like *De Rapine* of *Valence*, are really dreadfuller things, than a quick end of ones misery, tho by fire; yet so many fires had more lustre, and lookt more terrible; so this part of the *Panegyrick* will fail *Mr. Varillas*, and he will find that *Queen Mary* had the better of his *Monarch*. It is true, great numbers seemed to comply in *Q. Mary's* time, as well as

B 3 they

6 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

they have lately done in *France*, and as we find by *Pliny's* Letter to *Trajan*, the Christians of those days did upon the first threatening of a Persecution; and when this fell out, while the Apostles were but newly dead, and while so much of an extraordinary spirit remained still in the Church, it is not to be wondred at if in our days too many have preferred this present World to the Faith, and to a good Conscience; but as that forced compliance had no other effect besides the giving those who had not the courage to stand firm, so much the more horreur at their Persecutors, so it very quickly turned the spirits of the whole *Nation* to a detestation of a *Religion* that had signalised it self with so much Cruelty. I will not take upon me to play the Prophet as to the effects that the present Persecution in *France* may have, tho the numbers that come every day out of that *Babylon*, and the visible backwardness of the greatest part of those who have fallen, are but too evident signs, that this Violence is not like to have those glorious Effects which *Mr. Varillas* may perhaps
set

set forth in his *Panegyrick*: one thing cannot be denied, that this persecution has contributed more to the establishing the *Protestant Religion* elsewhere, and to the awakening men to use all just precaution against the like cruelty, than all that the most zealous *Protestants* could have wished for or contrived; and of this some *Princes* of that *Religion* are sufficiently sensible, and do not stick to express their horror at it in terms that they may better use than I repeat. In a word, *Queen Mary* in this point will be found to have the better of the *French King*: *She* found her people *Protestants*, and yet in eighteen months time she overthrew all the settlement that they had by Law; *She* turned them out of their Churches, and began to burn their Teachers and Bishops: whereas the *French King* had not of that *Religion* above the tenth part of his Subjects, and yet the extirpating them out of his Dominions, has cost him as many years as it did *Queen Mary* moneths.

The other Article of the preference that *Mr. Varillas* gives his Monarch to

8 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

Queen Mary is, that whereas she could not do it without marrying the *Prince of Spain*, the *King* has been able to effect it without the aid of Strangers. If this were true, the praise due upon it will not appear to be very extraordinary, since he who has so vast an Army, and is in peace with all the World, has been able to crush a small handful without calling in foreign aid; but on the other hand, *Queen Mary* had neither Troops nor Fleets, and very little Treasure, so that her Implying Strangers would appear to be no great matter; yet so unhappy is *Mr. Varillas* like to be in all that he writes, that it seems his *Panegyricks* and his *Historys* will be futeable to one another. *Queen Mary* indeed married the *Prince of Spain*, but she was not much the better for it; for she took such care to preserve the Nation from falling under his power, that as she would receive none of his Troops, so she neither gave him nor his Ministers any share in the Government of *England*; of this he became soon so disgusted, that seeing no hope of Issue, and as little probability of his being
able

able to make himself Master, he abandoned her; and *She* to recover his favour, engaged her self into a War with *France*, which ended so fatally for *England*, that *Calais* was lost; so that upon the whole matter, she lost much more than she gained by the *Spanish Match*: but as for her administration at home, if some money that she had from *Spain*, helped a little to corrupt a *Parliament*, that was the only advantage that she made by it: and thus if *Mr. Varillas's Panegyrick* is not better raised in its other parts than in this, it will be an Original; but I doubt it will not add much lustre to that *Monarch*, nor draw the recompences on the Author to which he may perhaps pretend. And if the Kings *Parchment* and *Wax*, which he says procured an Obedience from two Millions of persons, that were prepossessed against it by the most powerful of all considerations, which is that of *Religion*, had not been executed by *Dragoons* in so terrible a manner, it is probable that *Edict* would have had as little effect upon the Consciences of the *Protestants*, as it seems the *Edict*

10 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

of *Nantes* had upon the *King's*, tho he had so often promised to maintain it, and had once sworn it. I would not willingly touch such a Subject, but such Indecent Flattery raises an Indignation not easily governed.

Mr. *Varillas* in his Preface to his third *Volum* mentions no Author with relation to *English Affairs*, except the *Archbishop* of *Raguse*, who, as he says, writ the *Life* of *Card. Pool*. I do not pretend to deny that there is any such *Author*, only I very much doubt it; for I never heard of it in *England*; and I was so well pleased with the discoveries that I made relating to that *Cardinal*, that I took all the pains I could to be well informed of all that had writ of him; so I conclude, that there is nothing extraordinary in that *Life*, otherwise it would have made some noise in *England*; and it does not appear credible, that a *Dalmatian Bishop* could have any particular knowledge of our Affairs; and if the particulars related in Mr. *Varillas's* 14. Book are all that he drew out of that life, it seems the *Archbishop* of *Raguse* has been more acquainted with
Swedish

Swedish than *English* Affairs: for there is not one word relating to *England* in all that Book, and as little of the *Cardinal*.

But *Mr. Varillas* has shewed himself more conspicuously in the Preface to his fourth *Tome*; he pretends to have made great use of *P. Martyrs Works*, in his 17. Book: but he gives us a very good proof that he never so much as opened them: he tells us, that *P. Martyr* delivered his *Common-places* at *Oxford*, where he was the *Kings Professor*, and that one *Masson* printed them at *London* some years after his death; he tells us, that an ambition of being preferred to *Melancton* had engaged him to that work: in which he adds, that if he is to be preferred to *Melancton* for subtilty, he is Inferiour to him in all other things; upon which he runs out to let his Reader see, how well he is acquainted both with *P. Martyrs* Character and History. All men besides *Mr. Varillas* take at least some care of their Prefaces, because they are read by many who often judge of Books, and which is more sensible, they buy them or throw them by as

12 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

they are writ: Now since Mr. *Varillas* reproaches me with *my Ignorance of Books*, I will make bold to tell him, that the Apprentices to whom he sends me for Instruction, could have told him, that *P. Martyr* never writ any such Book of *Common Places*, but that after his death, Mr. *Masson* drew a great Collection out of all his Writings, of passages that he put in the Method of *Common Places*: so that tho all that Book, that goes by the name of *P. Martyrs Common Places*, is indeed his, yet he never designed nor dictated any such Work: and this Mr. *Masson* has told so copiously in his Preface, that I have thought it necessary to set down his own words:

Ergo quemadmodum in amplissima domo, & rebus omnibus instructissima, non omnia in acervum unum indistincta cumulantur, sed suis quaque locis distributa seponuntur; ut in usus necessarios proferri possint: ita in tantis opibus quas sedulus ille Dei Oeconomus, Ecclesie Dei comparaverat, opera pretium me facturum existimavi si ordine aliquo, omnia disponerem novisque

que additis indicarem; unde à studiosis quibusque suo tempore depromi possint: hoc autem meum iudicium multo magis mihi probatum est cum in eadem sententia ipsum D. Martyrem fuisse intellexi. Sic enim à D. Joanne Gravilla --- quo tempore D. P. Martyris domesticus, una cum multis aliis ejus consuetudine & colloquiis frueretur, ab illo quasitum aliquando fuisse, quare locos communes uno volumine collectos, cudendos non curaret: Hoc enim Ecclesia Dei fore utilius; & a piis quibusque magnopere desideraxi; cum iis quæ dicta fuerunt annuisse: idque si per otium liceret, se aliquando facturum recepisse quod utinam illi prestare dedisset Dominus; neque enim dubium quin & lima labore addito & multarum rerum accessione longe cumulationiores opes Ecclesia Dei habitura fuisset: id autem cum ipsi minime licuerit.

And if after all these discoveries, Mr Varillas can find men that will still read his Books and believe them, it must be said, that the Age deserves to be imposed upon.

There is another particular set forth

14 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

in this *Preface*, that is of a piece with the former: He tells us, he has drawn that which is *most curious* in his twentieth Book out of *Commendons* Negotiation in *England*, of which he gives us this account: „ *Pope Julius* the third „ writ to Cardinal *Dandino*, ordering „ him to send some able man secretly „ over to *England*, to confirm the „ *Queen* in her resolution of reconciling *England* again to the *See of Rome*. He upon that sent over *Commendon*, who went to *London* in „ disguise; but by accident found „ one *John Lee*, a Privy Councillor, „ who procured him a secret Audience; he had many Conferences „ with the *Queen*, who trusted him „ with her Secret, which was, that she „ believed she could never re-establish the *Catholick Religion*, unless she „ married the *Prince of Spain*, and „ by that means engaged the House „ of *Austria* to assist her with their „ Troops: but tho *Commendon* could „ not doubt that the *Popes* Intention „ was, that she should marry Cardinal *Pool*, and not raise *Spain* too „ much by so great an accession; yet he

„ he had been sent over in hast, and
 „ had no Instructions relating to that
 „ matter; so he complied with the
 „ *Queens* Inclinations for the *Spanish*
 „ *Match*, of which she spoke to
 „ him every time that she gave him
 „ audience; so that he saw into that
 „ Sectret, and had credit by that
 „ means to soften most of the Articles,
 „ which would otherwise have been
 „ of great prejudice to the Court of
 „ *Rome*. Mr. *Varillas* can pretend no
 Warrant for this part of his History but
Gratians Life of *Commendon*; and if
 this be the *most curious* part of his 20.
 Book, we may conclude what judg-
 ment we ought to make of the rest.
Commendon was in *London* when the
Duke of Northumberland was execu-
 ted, which was the 22. *August*: he
 had been sent from *Brussels* some days
 before that; and by consequence he
 was sent by Cardinal *Dandino* of his
 own motion, as *Gratian* represents it.
 For King *Edward* died the sixth of
July, and it was 10. dayes after that
 before *Queen Mary* was in possession:
 so here there will not be time enough
 for sending notice to *Rome*, and re-
 ceiving,

16 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

ceiving orders from it. 2. *Lee* was a Servant of the *Queen's*, and no Privy Councillor. 3. The *Queen* never mentioned the Spanish Match to *Commendon*; on the contrary, she rather intimated to him her design for Cardinal *Pool*: for she asked him, if the *Pope* could not dispence with his mar-

Lib. 20. rying, since he was only in

Deacons Orders; which is confessed elsewhere by Mr. *Varillas*.

4. It does not appear by *Gratian*, that *Commendon* saw the *Queen* often; for as the thing was a great secret, and by consequence many audiences given by a Lady, that was so scrupulous as she was, could not be long concealed: so on the other hand, no doubt *Commendon* pressed a dispatch all that was possible, knowing what a step such a piece of news must be to the making his Fortune in *Rome*. 5. Nor does it appear, that there was the least motion yet made in the Match with *Spain*; and the first proposition that I could find of it, was in a Letter writ by the *Q.* of *Hungary* in the *Emperours* name, and subscribed by him, for he was then lame of the Gout, and dated in the beginning

beginning of *November. 6.* *Mr. Varillas* represents *Queen Mary* very ready to discover her greatest Secrets, when she would trust an unknown Man, sent to her by the *Legate* in the *Emperours Court*, with a matter of such Consequence. There was no danger, in trusting him with her design of reconciling her self to the *Court of Rome*; for he that was a Creature of that *Court*, was not to be suspected in that matter; but it had been a strange looseness of Tongue in her to have blobb'd out such a Secret to such a Person; so that the preference he gives his *King* to so weak a Woman, will lose much of its grace. And thus by this Essay it appears, that *Mr. Varillas* holds on his Method of writing, and that he does not so much as take care to write his *Prefaces* correctly.

I. *Mr. Varillas* will shew, that he knows *Genealogies* as well as he does the other parts of History; P. 58. for he tells us, that *Henry the Seventh's Queen*, that was the Heiress of the *House of York*, had no Kinswoman of that Family nearer to her, than her Cousin-German *Margaret*. This is strange
Igno-

Ignorance ; for she had a Sister that married to *Courtney Earl of Devonshire*, who was Mother to the *Marquis of Exeter*, that was executed under *Henry the Eighth*. Now he should have known this, that so he might have given a stroke upon it against the Memory of that *Prince*.

II. He sets out *Cardinal Pools* great
 P. 59. *vigour in speaking so freely to the King, against his Divorce, that he once intended to put him to death: but he pardoned him in consideration of the Compliance of his Mother and Brethren, and so he was sent by his Family to study at Padua.*

All this is a Fiction, that was not so much as thought on, till many years after the persons concerned were dead: that *Cardinal* in his Book had no regard neither to *K. Henry's* Royal Dignity, nor to the relation in Blood that was between them; but treated him as a *Pharaoh*, and a *Nebuchadnezzar*: yet he upbraided him with no such thing: tho it had been a very natural Apology for all that Freedom that he then took, if he could have alledged, that he had expressed himself first so plainly to him

him in private. But so far was the *Cardinal* from such a behaviour, that he complied with the *Clergy* in acknowledging the *King* to be the *Supream Head of the Church of England*: For *Pool* in his Book tells the *King*, that he was in *England* when that Submission was made; and adds, that the *King* would not accept of the Present that was offered him by the *Clergy*, unless they would likewise give him that Title. Now it is agreed on by all, that this submission was past by the whole Convocation unanimously; *Fisher* being the only man that stood out a while, but even he at last concurred with the rest. And *Pool* was at that time *Dean of Exeter*, and so he was a Member of the *Convocation*: he also enjoyed his *Deancy* several years after this; so that it cannot be imagined, that the *King* would have let him go out of *England*, and have allowed him a good benefice for supporting him in his Studies, if he had set himself so vigorously to oppose him in a matter that touched him so near.

III. *Mr. Varillas* tells us, that in the year 1536. the *King* made a Law, P. 60. obliging

obliging his Subjects to continue firm in the six principal Points, which the Hereticks disputed most: And to put his Reader out of doubt as to this matter, he cites the *Acts of Parliament* for that year: But Chronology is a study too low for so sublime a Writer; and therefore since he thought the Fable would go on the better if this Law were put in this year, he would needs Anticipate three years, and put a Law that past not before the year 1539. in the year 1536. but in this he followed his *Sanders*, or which is all one, his *Florimond de Raimond* exactly.

IV. He reckons up the *six Articles*, it seems as others had done before him; but it is certain, he never looked into our *Acts of Parliament*; for as they would have set him right as to the year, so they would have shewed him, that the sixth *Article* did not at all mention the *seven Sacraments*: and as to *Auricular Confession*, it was only decreed, that it was *expedient and necessary, and that it ought to be retained in the Church*: For upon this there was a great dispute, most of the *Clergy* endeavouring to carry the matter
so

to far as to declare Confession necessary by the Law of God : but *King Henry* would not consent to that ; and there is a long Letter yet extant, all writ with his own hand, in which he argues this matter liker a learned *Divine* than a great *King*.

V. He tells us, that *Arch-bishop Cranmer* conferred all *Benefices* in the quality of *Vicar General* of *P. 61.* the Church of England, and that he disputed with *Jesus Christ* the Institution of four *Sacraments*. But neither the one nor the other is true ; for he gave no *Benefices*, but those of his own *Diocefs* : and as for his expression of disputing with *Jesus Christ* the Institution of four *Sacraments*, I pass it as a *Sublime* of our Author's ; yet even the thing is false : all the ground for it is, that in the first part of the *Erudition of a Christian-man*, that was set out this year, no mention was made of these four *Sacraments* ; but they were all set forth some years after this, when that work was finished.

VI. He says, that upon this the zealous *Catholicks of England* concluded, that the *King* himself leaned to *Ibid.*
Heresy,

22 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

Heresy, and that the Provinces of *Lincoln* and *Northumberland*, *Cambridge-Shire*, *York-Shire* and *Durresm*, were the first that revolted, and made up a body more than 50000. men. Here *Mr. Varillas* shews us still how well he likes *Rebellion*, by giving those Rebels no worse name than that of *Zealous Catholicks*; and here he gives us the accomplishment of the Cardinal *de Bellay's* threatnings: but one would have thought, that a Writer, who resolved to dedicate his Book to the King, should have softned this part a little; otherwise a *Zealous Protestant* may be naturally carried to make the Inference, that if the Fears of the change of *Religion in England*, might carry *Catholicks* to Rebel, on whom no worse Character is bestowed than that of *Zealous*; why may not *Protestants*, oppressed and ruined, contrary to the faith of irrevocable *Edicts*, claim the same priviledge. His laying of *Lincoln-shire* and *Northumberland* together, and then returning to *Cambridg-Shire*, and going back to *York-Shire*, shews how well he knows the situation of our Counties; and he instead of *Lanca-Shire*

Shire and Westmorland, has out of his store put *Northumberland* and *Cambridge-Shire* in the Rebellion; he also represents this rising only as a beginning, whereas these were the only Counties that rebelled: nor did they ever joyn together; for those of *Lincoln-Shire* were suppressed within that County, before the rising in *York-Shire*.

VII. He says, *The King ordered the Dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk* Ibid. *to go to the Rebels, and to promise them all that they demanded; upon which these Dukes undertook this Message, and went to the Rebels Camp, with all the shews of Humility that could have been expected from the most abject of the vanquished; they desired them to put their Complaints in writing, and when they saw them, they thought them very just, and signed a Treaty with them in the Kings Name; by which they obliged him to redress all the Innovations that had been made in matters of Religion: and with this they satisfied those who were in Arms, who were so foolish as to lay down their Arms upon the faith of this Treaty: yet the King, af-*
ter

24 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

ter he had thus dispersed them, did not trouble himself much with the keeping of his word to them; but as he knew the names of the chief Instruments of this Sedition, so he put them all in prison at several times, upon some pretended Crimes with which they were charged; and soon after they were proceeded against, according to the forms of Law; and not one of them escaped death, either in secret or in publick.

By this Relation of this Affair, one would think, that the King sent those Dukes as Supplicants to the Rebels: but they went both of them at the Head of the Kings Troops, and both to different Armies. 2. They were so far from promising every thing in the Kings Name, that the Kings Answers to their Demands are yet extant, in which he treats them as *Brute Beasts*, that meddled themselves in things that they did not understand: the King told them, their duty was to obey, and not to command; and that he would not at all be advised by them. He did indeed promise a Pardon of what was past, to those who should return to their duty: but he would not alter any

any thing at their sute. 3. Our Author did not know, that this *Rebellion* was after the suppression of the lesser *Monasteries*, and that this was one of the Chief of their Grievances: otherwise he had embelished it, no doubt. 4. He taxes them of *Imprudence*, for trusting the *Kings* promises; but one would have expected, that in a *Reign* of so much submission as this is, he should have rather shewed their Fidelity and Loyalty, that made them so easily believe a *Kings* word: but it seems Mr. *Varillas* thinks it is a piece of *Imprudence* to rely too much on that. 5. A *Prince's* breaking his Faith, is a thing that needs no aggravation; yet for certain reasons that our Author may guess at, if he will, he should not enlarge too much on this, even tho the promise had been given both frequently and solemnly; for this awakens ill Ideas in peoples minds: and makes them conclude with the *Ecclesiastes*, that *the thing which hath been, is that which shall be*. 6. King Henry excepted many out of the General Pardon; others were presently seised on for engaging into new Conspiracies:

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and

26 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

and against all these he proceeded upon no pretended Crimes, but upon that of High Treason, for having been in actual Rebellion against him.

7. All that suffered by form of Law for those Rebellions, were only two *Peers*, six *Knights*, and the *Wife* of one of them, six *Abbots*, and a *Monk*, and sixteen *men* of a meaner rank: now considering what a formidable *Rebellion* that had been, this will not appear to have been a very extraordinary severity; and without running too far back, to things past the memory of man, it were possible to instance *Rebellions* that were not so dreadful, and yet that have ended in many more *Sacrifices*. 8. He tells us of some that died in secret; if he means that died in their Beds in Prison, the thing may be very true: but then it is not extraordinary; but if he means the putting them to death secretly, and the using them so barbarously, that they languished and died under the hands of their Tormentors: he must know, that these are things which the *English Nation* knows not; they may be practised by *Courts of*
In-

Inquisition, or where *Dragoons*, and *De Rapines* have the Execution of the *Kings Parchment* and *Wax* put in their hands; but all Tryals and Executions in *England* are open and publick; which is too gentle a Nation to bear the Cruelty of Torture.

VIII. *Mr. Varillas* would needs have an extraordinary stroke of Providence appear here; for he tells us, that the last of those who *P. 63* suffered under the hand of the Hangman, was no sooner dead, then the Kings beloved Son the Duke of Richmond, whom he had designed to make his Successor, died suddenly of a malignant Feaver. But I had warned our Author of the necessity of buying a Chronological Table; for I saw what would come on it, if he would not be at that charge: The Duke of Richmond died the 22. of June 1536. and the first of all the tumults that was begun in *Lincoln-Shire*, did not fall out before the October following: so here is a lovely stroke of the Poem spoiled. 2. It does not appear that the King had any such design on this Son of this: for as he gave him none of the

28 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

Titles of the *Royal Family*, so he did not raise him up to any such degree of lustre as must have naturally followed on such a design.

IX. He joyns to this *Edward the sixths Birth*, and says, *That his Ibid. Mother not being able to bring him forth, King Henry ordered her Belly to be opened; saying, that he could find another Wife, but that he was not sure to find another Son: and that he began presently after her death to think on a fourth Marriage.*

Again it appears that *Mr. Varillas* wants a Chronological Table; for he joins *King Edward's* birth to the *Duke of Richmond's* death; tho there was sixteen moneths between them; for *King Edward* was born the twelfth of *October 1537*. and that was nine moneths after all the Executions were over. 2. *King Edward* was born in the ordinary way, and the *Queen* was as well a day after as any Woman in her condition could be: of this there are many good Proofs extant; for her *Council* writ Letters over all *England*, giving notice of her safe delivery, and of her good health, and two days after,

ter, others say three days after, she was taken with a distemper ordinary to Women in her condition, of which she died. 3. Our Author should have considered the decorum of his Fable better, than to make the *King* speak of a *Son* before he was born: it had been more natural to make him speak of a Child indefinitely. 4. This *Queens* death affected *K. Henry* so much, that he let two years pass before he entred into any Treaty for a new Wife. 5. He puts this in the year 1538. tho it fell out in the year 1537.

X. He opens upon the *Queens* Death a Project for Reconciling *England* to the Court *Ibid. and of Rome*: and says, That *P. 64, 65, in order to the satisfying that 66.*

Court, it was not doubted but the Parliament of England would annul King Henry's second Marriage, and declare Elisabeth a Bastard. He adds, That a Marriage of King Henry with Margaret, Daughter to Francis the First, was projected: and here he shews, how great a resemblance of Humours there was between them. He adds, That Pope Paul the Third was
C 3 *much*

30 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

much pressed by the Colledge of Cardinals, to fulminate against Henry, since the Cardinals Hat, which he had sent to Fisher, had only served to precipitate his death: upon which the Pope was bound both in Honour and Interest to revenge that contempt that was put on the Purple; for if the persons of Cardinals were not esteemed sacred, this would very much slacken their courage upon dangerous occasions: The Pope therefore very dexterously resolved to shew his Thunder without discharging it. So tho a new Sentence was past, yet it was not published, in hopes that the King, for the safety of his person, that was always exposed to the resentments of Zealous Catholicks, or for the securing himself from those Seditious which broke out in one place, as soon as they were quieted in another, would at last reconcile himself to the holy See.

The only Project that was ever set on foot after the breach, for reconciling *England* to the Court of *Rome*, was almost two years before this, upon *Anne Bullens* fall: for then the Pope proposed it to *Cassali*, that had been the *Kings* Ambassador at *Rome*, but the

the King rejected it with so much scorn, that in his next *Parliament* he past two *Laws* against all commerce with that *Court*, severer than any of the former. 2. There was no need of asking an *Act of Parliament* for annulling the Kings Marriage with *Anne Bullen*, and for illegitimizing the Issue; for that was already done, upon a confession of a Pre-contract that was drawn from her: of which it is plain *Mr. Varillas* knew nothing, tho it is in our *Statute Books*, and these were then printed both in *French* and *English*. 3. It does not appear that there was ever the least motion of a Marriage between King *Henry* and *Margaret* of *France*, muchless that it was believ'd concluded. 4. Our Author does not observe the decency of the *Cardinals* pressing the *Pope* to severity, when he expressed it by his *Revenging* the contempt put upon the Purple. It must be confessed, that this is too haughty a stile for him that pretends to be the *Vicar of Christ*: the language of *Revenge* does not agree with the Meekness of the Lamb of God. 5. But if he makes the *Cardinals* speak a little

too high with relation to the *Popes* Resentments, he makes them as abstract as can be in their own particulars; since they own, that the ground of their courage in serving the *Holy See* on dangerous occasions, was the Sacredness of their persons, which must be maintained, otherwise it could not be expected that they would expose themselves any more. There is no courage when a man knows he is invulnerable. It seems Mr. *Varillas* thinks, that the Colledge of *Cardinals* have not the spirit of Martyrdom among them: now tho it is very likely that this may be true, yet Mr. *Varillas* had shewed more respect if he had suppressed it. 6. The Sentence which Mr. *Varillas* represents, as past at this time, but not pronounced, was passed two years before this, the first of *September* 1535. so little is he ex-

Bullar. Rom.

Tom. 2.

p. 704.

act, that he does not ex-

amin the days of printed

Bulls. 7. Mr. *Varillas* re-

presents this present Ne-

gotiation as in the year

1538. which he sets on his Margin, yet

the final publishing of the Sentence was

on

on the 17. of *December* 1538. So that all this delay of the Sentence, and that which follows, could not belong to this year; but it must come in here for *Amours* giving a lustre to *Romances*; our Author thought, it was necessary to make them have a large share in all his Relations, and if the dates of matters will not agree, there is no help for it, he must pass over such inconsiderable things. 8. *Zealous Catholicks* again for *Rebels*.

XI. He goes on to dream, and fancies, that since the Daughter of France was Christned by King P. 67. Henry, both Francis and he would be obliged to send to Rome for a Dispensation; and that the Pope resolved not to grant it, but after that England should be reconciled to the Holy See. Therefore to facilitate this matter, the Pope sent for Pool, who was then at Padua, and he made him a Cardinal, and sent him to France, to set on that Design: which Pool, who loved his Countrey to excess, undertook with all possible Zeal. But the King of England by a fatal Blindness rejected all this. And here he pretends to tell what

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might

34 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

might be the secret Reasons of it, in his way, that is to say, very impertinently. He adds, *that King Henry sent to Francis, to demand Cardinal Pool as a Fugitive and a Traytor, and that he cited the examples of Charles the Fifth, and of his Father, who had delivered up Princes of the House of York to the Kings of England; and in conclusion, that Henry threatned Francis, that if he did not grant his desire, he would break the League in which he was with him, and would make one with the Emperour against him.*

If *Mr. Varillas* had seen *Card. Pools* Book against *King Henry*,
Answer to which he pretends to have
me. P. 305. lying before him, he would
 have known that it was
 printed in the year 1536. in which he
 had used the *King* in a stile that no
 Crowned Head in the World could
 allow of: but the conclusion of it was
 beyond all the rest; for he conjured
 the *Emperour* to turn his *Arms* rather a-
 gainst the *King* than against the *Turk*;
 and it was known in *England*, that he
 had obtained this Commission to be
 sent to *France*, only that he might set
 on

on a League between the two Crowns, against *England*; and so it was no wonder if the *King* resented his being well received in the Court of *France*.

2. It is not to be imagined, that when *Charles* the fifth was contriving how to make War upon *England*, and was the person that chiefly supported *Cardinal Pool*, that, I say, *King Henry* would be so highly displeased with the civility of the Court of *France* to the *Cardinal*, as to threaten upon that to join with the *Emperour*, who was the *Kings* chief Enemy, and the spring that set *Pool* in motion; therefore all this whole negotiation is to be reckoned among our Authors Fictions, since he gives no Proofs of it.

XII. Mr. *Varillas* says, that *King Henry* set fifty thousand Crowns on *Cardinal Pools* head: and upon this he grafts a new Fable.

But in the Sentence, and Act of Attaindor against *Pool*, there is not a word of any sum set on his head; so this was a small decoration that was not to be omitted by a man that does not trouble himself to examin, whether what he writes is true or not.

XIII. If *Mr. Varillas* were not so excessively Ignorant as he is of
 P. 73. the History of *England*, he would not have passed over the great advantage he had here of reproaching King *Henry*, with that which was indeed the greatest blemish of his whole Reign, and that was first practised on the Countess of *Salisbury*, Cardinal *Pools* Mother, whom by an affectation contrary to our Rules, he calls *Princess Margaret*, the Title *Princess* being affected in *England* to our Kings Children; and not being so much as given to their Brothers Children, who are only called *Ladies*: this piece of Tyranny was, that she was condemned without being brought to make her Defence, or to be heard Answer for herself. Now I leave it to the Reader to judge how well informed *Mr. Varillas* is, who is ignorant of that which is to be found in every one of our Writers, that have given the History of that time: and which would have furnished him with the best Article of his whole Satyr against King *Henry*.

XIV. He

XIV. He tells us, that
Calvin writ an Apology for Ibid.
 King Henry's conduct in that
 matter; upon which he makes a long
 excursion.

But I know nothing of this matter;
 I believe it not a whit the better, be-
 cause Mr. *Varillas* sayes it; and it does
 not appear among his printed Works.
 He adds, that the accusation was false
 that was brought against *Card. Pool*, as
 if he had formed a design to raise
 Troops in *Picardy* and *Normandy*, and
 to make a descent with them to assist
 the *Zealous Catholicks of England*: one
 reason that he gives to prove it false, is,
 that the *English* were at that time *Ma-*
sters of the Sea. The good opinion
 that Mr. *Varillas* has of the Rebellions
 of the *Zealous Catholicks of England*
 returns often in this kind *Epithet*, that
 he bestows on them. But for this ac-
 cusation of *Cardinal Pools*, our Au-
 thor may very well answer it; for I
 believe, it was never made by any be-
 fore himself: yet so unhappy is he,
 that he must discover his Ignorance in
 every Page and Line of his Book. The
Kings of England had then no *Fleets*,

and so they were not *Masters of the Sea*, unless he means that the Sovereignty of the four Sea's belonged to the Crown of *England*, in which sense I acknowledg, that not only then, but at all times, the *King of England* is *Master of the Sea*.

XV. Mr. *Varillas*, after he had carried his Romance to make the
P. 149. round to other parts, returns back to *England*; but I do not know by what ill luck it is, that there is not one single Paragraph that relates to our Affairs that is true: he begins here with the pretended Sentence against *Latimer*, Bishop of *Vigorne*, and *Scherton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who were, as he says, not only degraded, but condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, for having spoke somewhat against the *six Articles*. 1. It is perhaps to descend too low to tell him, that he ought to have named those Sees *Worcester* and *Salisbury*, and that the latter of those *Bishops* was not *Scherton*, but *Shaxton*; for the marking such small faults looks like a want of more material ones. 2. These two *Bishops* were never degraded, but of their

their own accord they resigned their Bishopricks, within three days after the *Act* of the *six Articles* had passed; and it was some time after that, before they were put in prison, upon an Accusation relating to the *six Articles*, and not for *Latimer's* having eat meat on a *Good Fryday*, as our Author reports it in another *Lib. 17.* place, having forgot what *P. 76.* he had said here. For it is a very hard thing to remember Lies, especially when the number of them is so excessively great.

XVI. Upon *Wolfey's* fall he tells us, that the *King* cast his eyes upon *Thomas Cromwel*, to be his chief *Ibid.* Minister; who was a Gentleman of quality; upon which he tells us, that the Family of the *Cromwels* was very Antient, and had already produced some that had been raised to the Chief Employments in the State; and so he goes on to make a Parallel between the late Protector and *King Henry's* Minister: only he will not in this place examine whether the one descended from the other or not.

One would wonder how it falls out that

that Mr. *Varillas* is so constantly mistaken, even in the most obvious matters: There is not one that writ in that time on those Affairs, that does not take notice of the meanness of *Cromwel's* birth; for his Father was a *Blacksmith*; and his base extraction is particularly mentioned in the *Act* that condemned him. 2. He is the first of his name that is spoken of in our Story: for the Family was so far from being antient, that it was not known before him. 3. *Oliver Cromwel* was no way related to him, and indeed not so much as by being originally of that name: being descended from an Antient Family in *Wales*, of the *Ap William's*, & at this time the *Welchmen* beginning to take Surnames, who before went only by the name of some Eminent man among their Ancestors, with the Addition of *Ap* before it: this *Ap Williams* having received great Obligations from *Cromwel*, he made choice of his name. 4. Our Author says true here, that *Cromwel* succeeded *Wolsey* in the chief Ministry, but yet he contradicts himself; for he had said

Lib. 9. sec elsewhere, that by *Anne*

Bullens

Bullens means *Cranmer* my Reflect.
 was raised at this time to p. 103.
 the Dignity of being the first numb. 38.
Minister: but he grows old,
 and it seems his Memory decays; all the
 rest of his Character of *Cromwel*, and
 the projects that he puts in his head are
 a continuation of the Romance.

XVII. Mr. *Varillas* will here rise a-
 bove the Vulgar, and give a
 representation of the state of P. 152,
 the *Monasteries* in England: 153.
 he tells us, *They had acquired*
the property of two thirds of the King-
dom: and among the other effects of the
power of the Clergy, he mentions this,
that the Popes had many officers in En-
gland for levying the Peterpence, who
had such an Influence over the Clergy,
that they had the main stroak in our Par-
liaments; by which means it was, that
tho the King of England was as to the
outward appearance Master of his King-
dom, yet in effect he was far from it:
and that as King Henry had a mind to
shake off this yoke, so Cromwel sug-
gested to him the method in which it
might be done: and among other things,
since the chief resistance that the Crown
had

42 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
had met with in Parliament, had always come from the Monks, he propos'd to the King the seising on their Revenues.

One would think that Mr. *Varillas* had intended to prepare an Apology for King *Henry's* seising on the *Abbey Lands*: for if they had *two thirds* of the Kingdom, if they were influenced by *Italian Ministers*, and if they had always opposed the designs of the Crown in *Parliament*, here were very powerful reasons for suppressing them.

2. It is generally believed that the *Abbey Lands* might be one *third* of *England*: but no body ever carried the estimate of their wealth to so invidious a height before Mr. *Varillas*, as to imagin, that they were Masters of *two thirds* of the Nation. And as for that Interest that he pretends that some *Italians* have had in them, and the Opposition that they gave the Crown in *Parliament*, these are either Fictions of his own, or of some Author as bad as himself, if any such can be found. In the times of King *John*, and of his Son *Henry the Third*, the *Italians* oppressed *England* severely, but they were far from

from doing it by the Interest they had among the *Monasteries*; for it appears by *Matthew Paris*, how much they complained of that Tyranny; which was in a great measure repressed when *England* came to have *Kings* who had more spirit: so that *Edward* the first and *Edward* the third made such effectual Laws, that after their time we find no evidences of any great stroke that *Italian Officers* had in *England*.

XVIII. He represents the dissolution of the *Monasteries*, as carried on by a Project of *Cromwels*, P. 154. who got a great party among the Monks to sign a Petition to the King, for which he cites on the Margin the expositive or Preamble of it, in which they set forth their real unhappiness, tho they seemed to be happy, & that they could not bear the hardness of their condition, and therefore they implored the King's Favour, that they might live as other Englishmen, free from the constraint of Vows, and the Tyranny of the Court of Rome: and they added, that if the King would grant this Petition, they prayed him to accept a free Surrender of all their Goods and Lands. This, he

44 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

he says, *was sent from House to House, and it was looked on as the Master-piece of the Reformation.*

Mr. *Varillas* has a mind to demonstrate to all the World, that he knows nothing of *English Affairs*: For 1. there was never any such Petition made. 2. I have published almost three hundred of the *Surrenders*, of which the Original Deeds are yet extant: and these were all of one form, but were not in one writing, as he dreams: the Preamble of all is the same: * *That they have deliberately, of certain knowledg, and of their own proper motion, and for some just and reasonable Causes, that did especially move their Souls and Consciences, freely and of their own accord, given and granted to the King, &c.*

* *Sciatis nos, deliberate certa scientia, & mero motu nostris, ex quibusdam causis justis & rationabilibus, nos, animos & conscientias nostras, specialiter moventibus, ultro & sponte, dedisse & concessisse Domino Regi, &c.*

3. It is plain our Author knew nothing of the *General Visitation* that was made of all the *Monasteries* of *England*, and of the Discoveries that were made of the most horrid of all Vices, that God had punished with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven, which reigned among them: and of the discoveries made of the Instruments of coyning in several Houses; and of the False Relicks and the Impostures discovered in some Images, of which the Eyes and Mouth were made to move by secret Springs; for these things, that were laid open in the publickest parts of the Nation, disposed men to bear with the dissolution, which perhaps would not have been otherwise so easily brought about. 4. Nor does our Author know, that three years before the general dissolution, all the small *Monasteries* were dissolved. In short, the great discoveries I had made of the progress of this matter, might have engaged a man even of an ordinary degree of carelessness, to have read what I had writ concerning it. But Mr. *Varillas* must be an Original in every thing.

XIX. He says, *This Petition was no sooner read in Parliament, than*
P. 156. *on the 28. of April 1539. they appointed that all the Monasteries in England should be set open, and that their Lands should be appropriated to the King for the encrease of his Revenue; upon this all was seised on, and there was so much wealth found among them, that out of the Church of Thomas Becket alone, there were six Cart load of Plate and other things carried away; and for such of the Religious Persons as would not quit their Profession nor their Lands, they proceeded against those who were of a meaner rank as guilty of a Contempt of an Act of Parliament; and those that were more considered, were attainted of Treason, because some Libels that had been writ upon the Kings divorce, were found among their Papers, in which the Kings Amours were painted to the life; for these they were accused, as having not only concealed them, but preserved them to posterity: and by a new subtilty the Crime of lese Majesty was added to that of High Treason: and here he comes over again with that of King Edward's*
being

being cut out of his Mothers belly, as if the frequent repeating of Falsehoods would gain them the more credit.

1. *Dates* are unhappy things for *Mr. Varillas*; for this *Act* did not pass before the 28. of *June*. 2. This *Act* did only confirm what was already done, but did not at all threaten any that would not surrender. 3. There were eighteen *Abbots* present when the *Act* was first read, and seventeen when it passed in the House of *Lords*, and yet none of them opposed it. 4. There was no petition read in either House of *Parliament*, that had been made by the *Monks*; for this *Act* neither dissolved nor opened any *Monasteries*, but only confirmed the *Kings* Title upon their Surrenders. 5. His Author *Sanders* had raised up *Two* Chests of the Plate that belonged to *Beckets* Shrine, to Twenty six Cart Load: but it seems *Mr. Varillas* thought this a little too Extravagant, so that he reduces it to a modester number of *six*; but yet he should stick to his Author. And here I must call to mind a passage of our Author's, that had escaped me, concerning *Thomas Beckets Bones being raised and burnt*;

burnt; as if the *King* had re-
 P. 83. viewed his Procel, and by a
 formal Sentence degraded
 him of his *Saintship*: whereas this
 matter passed without any sort of
 Ceremony. *Becket* did things that
 were of another nature than all that
 has been lately done in the business of
 the *Regale*; he was not content to dis-
 obey, but thundred against the *King*
 and the *Clergy*, and the whole *Nation*,
 that would not concur with him in
 his Violences, which were such, that
 at this day they would not pass unpun-
 nished even in *Spain* itself: and tho he
 was killed without any Order of the
King's, it is known not only what Pen-
 nance the *King* was forced to do, but
 what a Superstition for his Memory
 there followed upon his Canonisation:
 there were Two *Holy Days* assigned
 him: there was a *Jubily* every fifty
 year, with Plenary Indulgences to all
 who visited his *Tomb*, which brought
 sometimes an hundred thousand per-
 sons together; and his *Altar* was so
 much more valued than either *Christ's*
 or the *Virgins*, that by the old accounts
 yet extant it appears, that some years
 there

there were no Offerings at all made at *Christ's Altar*; and tho there were indeed some made at the *Virgin's Altar*, yet those of *Thomas Becket's* made a sum about twenty times more. So it was no wonder if King *Henry* put an end to this Superstition: and therefore he ordered the *Shrine* to be broken, and the Bones to be *buried*, as our Authors say positively, tho the *Italians* say they were *burned*; for so it is specified in the *Bull*: and indeed there had been no great fault if they had been *burnt*. 6. No man could be punished for refusing to surrender; for the *Act of Parliament* required none to do it. 7. Those who were attainted of Treason, had been either in the *Rebellion*, or had sent their Plate to the *Rebels*. 8. Our Author shews how well he understands our *Law*, when he pretends to make a difference between *High Treason* and the Crime of *lese Majesty*; for they are one and the same thing: we do not use to express the highest sort of Crimes against the State by the term of *Lese Majesty*, but only by that of *High Treason*. 9. Those *Libels* of which he speaks, were

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50 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

only found among the *Carthusians*; and tho some of that Order were put to death upon other accounts, yet these *Libels* were only made use of to frighten them to surrender up their House: sure here are faults enough for one Paragraph.

XX. He gives us a long prospect of what *Cromwel* thought
P.160. on, and of what he should have thought on; both being alike true and equally judicious: then he goes on to tell us *the Interests of the Duke of Cleves, and of his Sister's Qualities*: and to shew us, how well he was informed of her greatest Secrets; he sayes, that she was fit for Marriage before she was twelve year old: but that tho she had been courted by many Princes, her Brother was resolved to reserve her for such
P.164. an Alliance as might protect him against the House of Austria. She was a Lutheran, which did not please Henry, yet at last the Marriage was agreed on, and She
P.166. came to England, and was married the third of January
1540. 1. She had been contracted to the

Prince of *Lorraine*, and tho this was really of no force in Law, yet it was afterwards pretended to dissolve her Marriage with *Henry*, as appears by the Sentence: So much is our Author a stranger to her Story, tho he would make us fancy that he had Memoirs concerning her from her Chambermaids, since he tells us when she was fit for Marriage. 2. I have often warned our Author to avoid the giving of *Dates*; for he is unhappy in them all: this Marriage was made the 6. of *January*, yet it is much for him to have hit the Moneth right; for he is not always so exact.

XXI. He says, *The King was so well pleased with this Match, that immediately upon it, he* Ibid. *made Cromwel Great Chamberlain, and created him Earl of Essex, and made his Son a Lord.* But this is so false, that the *King* from the time he saw *Anne of Cleve*, had an aversion for her; and intended once to have sent her away without Marrying her; and after he had married her, he told *Cromwel* how much he disliked her, and that he believed *She was no* Maid,

§2 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

Maid, and that her person was loathsome; so that he believed he should never be able to consummate the Marriage; so that *Cromwel* had rather reason to apprehend, that this proving so unhappy, it would be his Ruin. He was not made *Earl of Essex* till the *April* following; so that as this Marriage was too unlucky to do him any service, it seems it did not hurt him much neither.

XXII. He shews us, how well he understands our Constitutions,
P. 166. when he says, *That the Subsidy granted the King, was a Tenth and the Fourth part of a fifteenth: whereas it was a Tenth and Four Fifteenths.*

XXIII. He says, *That Cromwel having met with some Opposition by three members of Parliament, who were the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Wilfon, and Frammer, a Merchant, he charged some false Crimes on them, and put them in prison: but he proceeded more severely against John Nevil, Knight of the Garter; for he suborned false Witnesses against him, so that he was beheaded.*

i. The

1. The Bishop of *Chichester* comply'd with every thing that was done in Parliament, as appears by the Journal of the House of *Lords* : but some Correspondence that he held with the Court of *Rome* ; being discovered about this time, he was put in prison; but upon his submission he was set at Liberty. 2. *Wilson* being a Clergyman, could not be of the House of *Commons* : and he was no *Bishop*, so that he could not be a Member of either House ; but he was clapt up as a Complice of the Bishop of *Chichester's*, and likewise set at liberty with him. *Frammer* is not named, there is indeed one *Grunceter* a Merchant named, who was condemned of Treason a year before this. 3. There was one *Sr. Edward Nevil*, a Knight, tho not of the *Garter*, who was indeed condemned and executed a year before this; but it was for being in a Confederacy with Cardinal *Pool*, and more particularly for having said, *that the King was a Beast, and worst than a Beast*. God only knows whether the Witnesses swore true or false against him.

XXIV. He tells us, That Crom-
 wel, to fill up the measure of
 P.169. his Iniquities,, got a Law to
 be made, by which he might
 easily dispatch all those who should oppose
 his Designs : which was, that any man
 condemned in absence, without being
 heard to justify himself, either in person,
 or by proxy, should be esteemed as justly
 condemned as if it had been done in the
 common form.

Here is indeed the great blemish of
 of King Henry's Reign, and of Crom-
 wel's Ministry : but it is told in such
 a manner by Mr. *Varillas*, that it ap-
 pears to be no extraordinary thing as
 he relates it. 1. There was no Law
 made about this, it was only practised
 by the *Parliament*, as the Legislative
 Body, without giving the common
 Courts of Judicature the power of
 using it. 2. The Condemning men
 in Absence has been always pra-
 ctised by our Law, when the Absence
 was wilful : and if Mr. *Varillas* accuses
 the putting men to death upon such a
 Sentence, it may probably be supposed
 to be an effect of his aversion to the
King of England, and put here on de-
 sign,

sign, to aggravate the Execution of Sr. Thomas Armstrong and the Duke of Monmouth, who were the two last that suffered being condemned in absence.

3. The Heinousness of this matter, which our Author shews he understood not, consists in this, that men who were in prison, were condemned upon the examination of Witnesses against them, without confronting them with their Witnesses, or bringing them to answer for themselves: now tho this was taken from the Holy Courts of *Inquisition*, and was only put in practise by the *Parliament* it self, yet I will not go about to soften, much less to justify a practice so contrary to the most Indispensable Rules of Equity and Morality.

XXV. He says, *K. Henry being sooner disgusted at Anne of Cleve than he had been of his other Wives, dissolved the Marriage for two reasons; the one was, that she was Incapable of having children; and the other was her Heresy; to which the English Writers that favour Henry add two others; the one, that those of the League of Smalcald, would not receive the English into their Union; and the other, that K. Henry's Interests*

56 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
were then changed : to these four rea-
sons he adds a fifth, that *She had not that*
engaging Temper, that was necessary to
charm Henry.

1. It is a strange thing to see an *Histo-*
rian mistake every thing, and that there
should not be one single part of his work
found. The sentence annulling the K's.
Marriage with *Anne of Cleve* is printed,
according to the Record yet extant; in
which, as there is not one of all the rea-
sons mentioned by Mr. *Varillas*, so there
are other Reasons that would have
given him much better grounds to
have censured this Action, than those he
sets up, chiefly the second, which is,
that K. *Henry* had not given an inward,
clear, perfect, and entire consent to the
Marriage, which I had laid open with
the Indignation that so unjust a practice
ought to raise in an *Historian*; since
here a ground was laid down by which
all Faith and Commerce among men is
quite destroyed: so ill instructed was
Mr. *Varillas*, that tho he had a mind to
write a *Satyr* against K. *Henry*, he did
not know where to take the true Ad-
vantages, that a man better Informed
would have found if he writes *Panc-*
gyricks,

gyricks, as he does *Satyrs.* *Mr. Varillas* will still be *Mr. Varillas.*

XXVI. He pretends, that *Cromwell* would not so far comply with the King's aversion to Anne P. 172. of *Cleves*, as to concur with him in the Divorce, which drew on him his Ruin.

His testimony was the fullest proof that the King made use of for obtaining the Divorce; but whether he consented to it or not, it cannot be known: if he refused to do it, he was so much the worthier man.

XXVII. He tells us a long story of the different Interests to which *K. Henry* was leaning; at last P. 176. he says, that *Cromwell* signed a League in the Kings name with the German Princes, which some say, he did without the Kings knowledge, the others say the contrary: upon which the Emperours Ambassadors reproached the King with it, but the King denying it, the discovery was made: and after a dressing up of the scene with more of his Visions, it ends in this, That *Cromwell* was put in Prison, yet he hoped to have justified himself for this Treaty, if he had been brought to make his Defence:

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58 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

but many other things besides this, were laid to his charge; and the Law that he had procured to be passed three moneths before this, of condemning men without hearing them, was applied to himself; so he was condemned and executed the 6. of July; his body being cut up, as is usual to Traitors, and Quartered. And to justify all this he cites on the margin Cromwells Process. But that Process, or rather the Act of Parliament, that condemned him, is in print, taken from the Record, in which there is not one word of all this business, of signing a League with Forreign Princes without the Kings orders. 2. No such thing can be done according to our forms. Ambassadors that have formal powers can sign Leagues, but the Ministers about the King cannot bind him, nor sign Leagues without him: and no Prince would have either asked or accepted any such thing 3. All that is objected to Cromwell in his condemnation, is so Inconsiderable, that it is plain there was no great matter against him; some Malversations and illegal Warrants, some high boasting words, is all that is to be found in his Attaindor 4. There was no such Law ever made; for

for Parliaments do not make Laws, with relation to their own proceedings: but this practice was indeed begun, not three moneths, but a full year before this. 5. *Mr. Varillas* is incurable in his venturing upon *Dates*; for *Cromwells* Execution was not on the 6. but on the 18. of *July*. 6. *Cromwel* was only beheaded; it is true the Hangman did it in a butcherly manner; but all the rest is fiction, and I am not much concerned whether *Florimond* or *Mr. Varillas* is the Contriver.

XXVIII. He says, *Anne of Cleves* was terrified with a Sentence of Death, as being a Heretick, P. 177. and that She was so far wrought on by that, as to become the Chief Instrument of her own Degradation; for She confessed that She had promised Marriage to another before King Henry had pretended to her; upon which her Marriage was dissolved, and She was sent back to Germany. I have already shewed the falsehood of this from the Sentence it self, that dissolved the Marriage. Nor did She ever go back to Germany, but stayd still in England, being contented with the appointments

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that

60 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

that were set off for her, and with the honour of being made the *King's* adopted *Sister*, which it seems was more supportable to her, than to return to her own Countrey with the Infamy of such a Degradation: which she indeed bore, either with the constancy of a great Philosopher, or with the insensibility of one that was extremely stupid.

XXIX. He tells us of a new project of a *Reconciliation* with the *P. 200.* *Pope*, in which he is so particular, as to set down the Articles that were proposed, and *King Henry's* Exceptions to them: and he tells us at last, *That King Henry stood so much on the point of Honour, that he thought it below his Dignity to make any Submission to the Pope.*

All this is Fiction, without the least proof: for it does not appear, that after that proposition that was made upon *Anne Bullen's* fall, there was ever the least step made by either side in this matter. Our Author had heard there was one made, but not knowing where to place it, his fancy rambled about. Indeed the *King* was so much alienated from

from the Court of *Rome*, that *Gardiner* and *Knevet* being sent Ambassadors to the *Diet* at this time, one discovered to *Knevet* some secret Interviews that had passed between *Gardiner* and the *Legate*: which *Gardiner* considered as so great an Injury to him, and as that which must have ruined him in the *Kings* spirit, that he prosecuted the Informer as a Slanderer, and got him to be put in Prison: concerning which, his Letters to the *King* are in print: which shew clearly, that there was no such Negotiation at this time on foot; otherwise those secret Interviews could not have been such offensive things.

XXX. Mr. *Varillas* says, That the *K.* who would not submit himself so far as to confess his Sins, P. 202. did a much meaner thing; for he accused his *Queen*, Katherine Howard to the Parliament, for her disorders, both before and after her Marriage with Thomas Culper and Francis Dirham, and so her Head was cut off.

There are few Writers that do not at some time or other tell things true;

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but

62 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

but Mr. *Varillas* must needs be an extraordinary person, and commit such Errors as no other man ever did before him. *Catherine Howard's* Incontinence was discovered, and proved many months before the Parliament met: nor would the *King* at all appear in the business, as it is expressly mentioned in the Record. It were too great an Honour to our Author, to insist on such small Faults as that he names the Persons wrong.

XXXI. Nor ought I to make any great Account of his Ignorance of our *English* Families, since he calls *Catherine Parre* Sister to the *Earl of Essex*, who was Sister to the *Marquis of Northampton*; these things might indeed be forgiven him, if it were not that he sets them down to shew how well he is informed even in the smallest matters, which no doubt will make some Impression on Strangers, who do not know our Affairs, nor our Pedigrees.

XXXII. He reproaches the *Empe-
reur* for making a League
P. 207. with Henry against Francis,
notwithstanding his Schism. But

But why might not *Charles* the fifth do the same thing, that *Francis* had done for seven years together? It is known, that *Francis* was not so scrupulous as to decline the making of any *League*, that might be to his Advantage, not only with *Schismaticks*, but even with *Mahometans*: and some have been so malicious as to say, that this is a maxim that some of his *Successors* have thought fit to keep up and put in practise against the *House of Austria*.

XXXIII. Mr. *Varillas* tells us, That *Richer* was appointed to set on the King of Denmark against England, and that he represented to him, that King *Henry* had taken occasion to come over to Picardy, at the same time that *Charles* the fifth entered into *Champaigne* with a formidable Army, and that *K. Henry* had besieged *Bulloigne*, and taken it, therefore the *K. of France* resolved to make England the scene of the War: and that since he knew the great pretensions that the Crown of Denmark had upon England, which his Subjects had formerly conquered, he thought the present conjuncture proper for the renewing these:

64 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
so he invited him to share with him,
and to accept the Provinces that lay over
against Denmark, while the French
King should seise on those that lay nearer
him. Now it is to be considered, that
this was in the year 1542. as he warns
us by his Margin; and all this is found-
ed, as he told us in his Preface, on
Richers Negotiation, of whose Rela-
tion he makes so great an account,
telling us both that he was the first that
negotiated according to form with the
Kings of the North, and owning that
he had drawn his thirteenth Book out of
his *Memoirs*, in which there are some
things that by the order of time had be-
longed to his fifth Book, but he had not
seen those *Memoirs* when he writ his
first *Volum*, therefore his Reader must
forgive him if there is any disorder in the
recital that he gives; and now from all
this one would he disposed to believe,
that there is some truth in this matter,
and that he has really such a Book of
Memoirs in his hands; but I need give
no other proof to shew that all this is
Imposture, save that *Bulloign* was not
taken before the 18. of September 1544.
so that all this Negotiation of *Richers*
in

in 1542. must have been by the spirit of Prophecy. 2. The state of *Denmark* at that time must make this project appear very ridiculous, since they were far from being in a condition to set out great fleets, and make Conquests. 3. At this time *Francis* did indeed engage the *King* of *Scotland* to make an Invasion into the North of *England*; which was a more reasonable project: and that which our Author might have more justly guess't at, tho he had known nothing of it; for it was an easy thing to engage the *Scots* to fall into *England*; but that was too true and too natural, therefore our Author, who loves to *elevate* and *surprise* his *Reader*, would needs despise the Project in *Scotland*, and so would carry it over to *Denmark*. 4. It is also no less clear, that *Francis* was at that time in no condition to make a descent upon *England*, otherwise he used the *Scots* very ungratefully; for tho he had engaged them in the war, yet he left them to be overrun by the *English* without giving *K. Henry* any considerable diversion. 5. But our Authors setting on the *King* of *Denmark* to renew pretensions

sions of five hundred year old, is of a piece with the Law at *Metz*: and when *England* will examin its Ancient pretensions to some *Provinces* in a neighbouring *Kingdom*, as it needs not go so far back, so it will not be put to found them on hostile descents and depredations, which was all the pretension that the Crown of *Denmark* could ever claim, but on clear and undisputed Rights: tho I confess they have been both discontinued and renounced; but I build on the modern Law, that neither *Prescriptions*, *Treaties* nor *Oaths* can cut off the Rights of a *Crown*, which are sacred and Inalienable.

Thus I have gone over his third *Tome*, and I think I have missed nothing that relates to *English affairs*. I confess I may have passed over some particulars that may perhaps lie Involved in other Relations, as this of *Richers* had almost escaped me. I have turned all his leaves over and over again to see for any thing that might relate to *England*. But I could not prevail with myself to read him all; for I am now past the Age of reading *Romances*.

XXXIV. Mr. *Varillas* begins his discourse

course concerning *English Affairs* in his fourth Tome, with a P. 62. Character of K. Henry's cruelty, that deserves indeed to be put in Capitals; he says, *that during his Sickness, his Conscience had time to reproach him, with the 2. Cardinals, the 3. Archbishops, the 18. Bishops, the 14. Archdeacons, the 500. Priests, Abbots, and Priors, the 60. Canons, and 50. Doctors, 12. Dukes, Earles, or Barons, 29. Knights, 336. Gentlemen, and almost an Infinite number of people, whom he had put to death for establishing his Primacy over the Church of England.* And because all this was so remarkable, he would not put the numbers in Ciphers, but in words at large; and by the exactness of his small numbers, a man that is not acquainted with his *Talent*, would be tempted to think this might be true: but what will he say, if of all those ten *Items*, besides the great *Et cetera* of the *Infinite* number, there is not one that is either true or near truth. 1. *Fisher* was the only person that can be called a *Cardinal*, that was put to death. 2. There was not one *Archbishop* that suffered; and tho the *Archbishop of York*

York concurred in the *Yorkshire Rebellion*, yet the *King* included him in the Indemnity. 2. There was not one *Bishop* that suffered, unless he subdivides *Fisher*, as he did *Charles* the fifth, and makes both a *Cardinal* and a *Bishop* out of him. 4. There is not an *Arch-deacon* to be found among all that died in this Reign. 5. For the 500 *Priests*, *Abbots* and *Priors*, there were only 9. *Abbots*, 3. *Priors*, 18. *Priests*, and 9. *Monks* that suffered, which according to my *Arithmetick* makes only 39: but an *Imagination* that multiplies as *Mr. Varrillas's* does, can swell this up to 500. 6. There is but one among all that suffered that can be thought a *Canon*, *Crofts*, that is designed in the *Record Chancellor of Exeter*. 7. There is but one *Doctor*, unless *Fisher* comes into the account again. 8. All of the *Nobility* that were executed during this reign, were one *Duke*, a *Marquis*, 3. *Earls*, and 3. *Lords*, which make 8. but this comes the nearest his number; yet since the *Marquis* that suffered was *K. Henry's* Cosen german, he might have put *Marquises* among the degrees of the *Peers* that he reckons up, as well as the

the rest. 9. There were only ten *Knights* that were put to death; so the 19. more are of his creating. 10. There are only 33. others that suffered, of which some were only Yeomen to make up his 336. *Gentlemen*; and now I have set down the list exactly of all that died by the hand of justice in this Reign: so that there is not a man left for his &c. of almost an *Infinite number of people*. But besides this, all these except only 12. persons, suffered either for being in actual Rebellion, or for entering into Conspiracies for the raising of one; so small was the number of those who suffered for denying the *Kings Supremacy*, and even of these a distinction is to be considered, which I must explain, because some have fancied, that I had contradicted my self in different parts of my *History*, having said in some places, that none suffered for not acknowledging the *Kings Supremacy*, and having set forth in other places, that men died for denying it. But the refusing to swear the Oath of supremacy was only punishable at first with a *Premunire*, that is loss of liberty and Goods, so that those who suffered were not condemned for
refu-

70 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

refusing to swear that Oath, but for their having spoken against the *Supremacy*: now *the refusing to swear it*, and *the speaking against it*, are two different things; which some have confounded. It is true, afterwards a *Law* was made, declaring it to be *High Treason to refuse to swear the Supremacy*. But no man ever suffered upon that Law; for no man ever refused it after that Law was made. And thus we see what we may expect from our Author after such a beginning.

XXXV. He says, *King Henry seemed to repent of what he*
P. 63. had done when he was near death, and that he spake with Gardiner concerning it, who upon that advised him to call a Parliament. But the Falseness of this is too visible; for there was a *Parliament* then sitting, which was dissolved by the King's Death.

XXXVI. He says, *The Church of the Franciscans was opened in*
Ibid. London, 21 dayes before his death; and he had said before,
P. 61. that King Henry was 57 years of Age compleat when he dyed.
 This

This Church that he represents as the *Cordelier's Church*, was indeed opened; but it was in order to the making it an *Hospital*, and was no more the *Corde-liers Church*. But now I will shew Mr. *Varillas*, how just I am to him; for I think I am bound to take notice that this date is right: For tho it is of no great consequence, yet it is the first that I have found him give true: and perhaps it is true, because it is of no consequence: but he is above a full year wrong in a matter of greater importance, which is King *Henry's Age*; for he was born the 28. of *June* 1491. so on the 27. *January* or the 28. for he dyed in the night between them 1547. he wanted five moneths of six and fifty: So natural is it for Mr. *Varillas* to mislead his Reader in every thing.

XXXVII. He says, *The disorder of the Kings Marriages, and the three Children that he had by* P. 63.
three of them, gave grounds to apprehend a Civil War upon his death, against which he provided by putting his only Son Edward first in the Succession.
But out of what part of our Authors study

72 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
study of the Law, did he find this, that a Son of an unquestioned Marriage on all hands, could receive any opposition from two Sisters, both born in Marriages that had been questioned. The Succession had been also expressly regulated by Act of Parliament, and the Kings power of disposing of it by his Testament was only in default of all his own Children, or of issue by them.

XXXVIII. He gives us a character of the Duke of Somerset, P. 64. that shews how well he knew him: he says, *He had an Extraordinary Capacity, and a Penetration of Spirit superiour to the greatest Affairs.* The D. of Somerset was indeed a man of great probity; but his Capacity and Penetration of Spirit were far from Extraordinary. Mr. Varillas thought those strokes were magnificent, so he did not trouble himself, whether they were true or false.

XXXIX. Mr. Varillas tells us, that Somerset represented to the P. 65. English Nobility, the Inconvenience of having 16. Governours for their young King, as King Henry had

had determined it: and that three parts of four of these were most zealous for reconciling England to the See of Rome; and so no doubt they would breed up the King in those sentiments, and by consequence as soon as the King came of Age, he would annul all that his Father had done, which would ruin the whole Nobility: and that since it was much fitter to have only one Regent, he engaged to them, that if they would pitch on him, he should take care of the Kings Education, and should be so far from disturbing the Nobility in the possession of the Church Lands, that he should grant them all the Ratifications that should be necessary: all this was so well received, that King Henry's true Testament was suppressed, and a new one was forged, by which Somerset was declared Regent and Protector; which surprised all those who had the chief Interest to maintain the Government during the Minority, in the state in which King Henry had left it.

1. King Henry died the 28. of January, upon which the young King was presently brought up to London, and upon the first of February

E Somer-

74 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

Somerſet was declared *Protector*.

2. This was not done by the Interpoſition of the *Nobility*, but by the conſent of the major part of the ſixteen *Governours*, whom King *Henry* had named; and the Original Inſtrument of this under all their hands is yet extant. 3. There was no new *Will* forged; for that which was then publiſhed, was the ſame that made all the ſixteen equal in power: and *Somerſet* had the Title of *Protector* given him by theſe only, with this expreſs condition, *that he ſhould do nothing without the Advice and Conſent of the reſt*. Nor was it ever pretended, that King *Henry* had ordered it ſo by his *Will*: ſo all that Negotiation with the *Nobility*, is to paſs for a Fiction of Mr. *Varillas*'s, or of ſome other that is about his pitch of ſincerity.

XL. He ſays, *Viſly the Chancellour was the only perſon that complained of this*; but that was made uſe of as a pretence to ſend him away from the Court.

1. *Wriotheſley* the Chancellour perhaps did not like *Somerſet*'s Advancement; but he ſigned it with the reſt.

2. The

XLI. He says, *Somerset forbade the Bishops to confer Orders with-*

E 2.

and

76 *Reflections on the Third and Fourth*
and of Letters of Orders, in which
no Limits were set them. 2. The *Licences* that were given to *Preachers*,
were only Civil things, being Per-
missions to preach; but there was no-
thing of Mission pretended to be in
them. 3. Tho the *King* did Licence
some *Preachers*, to preach in any part
of *England*, yet the *Bishops* retained
still their Authority of granting them
within their own *Diocesses*. 4. That
which Mr. *Varillas* perhaps relates to,
in some parts of this Period, is, that
under King *Edward*, the *Bishops* were
obliged to take out new Commissions
from the *King*, such as they had tak-
en out under King *Henry*, for hol-
ding their *Bishopricks* during the
Kings pleasure. This *Bonner*, and some
of the other Popish *Bishops*, had first
set on foot under King *Henry*, hoping
by so abject a Submission to gain much
credit with him : but *Cranmer* pre-
vailed so far as to get this to be quick-
ly laid aside. And now all these things
shew that our Author is still as care-
ful as he was in his Citations.

XLII. He pretends, That *Cranmer*
set out at this time a *Catechism*, which
inclined

inclined more to the Lutheran Doctrine, upon which the Protector looked down upon him, not thinking it fit to carry his displeasure farther. Cranmer could not know to what the Protector's coldness was to be ascribed, but fancying that a further Declaration of himself was expected, he professed himself a Lutheran, and took a Wife, whom he had seduced while he was in Germany, and had entertained ever after as a Concubine. P. 69.

1. Cranmer did not set out his Ca-
echism, till about two years after
this. 2. Somerset and He were always
in a very perfect Friendship. 3. He
had married his Wife before he came
out of Germany, and had owned it to
King Henry. It is true, upon the Act
of the six Articles he had sent her over
to Germany, so that all he did at this
time, was only to bring her over a-
gain, and to own her more publickly.

XLIII. I pass over what he says here
of Latimers Degradation, having re-
flected on that formerly: he
says, *The Duke of Sommerfet* P. 77.
set two men about the King for
his Education; the one was Richard

E 3

Croc;

78 *Reflection on the Third and Fourth*

Croc, and the other was John Cheek, a Libertin, that every day gave new cause of Scandal.

But 1. These who were trusted with the Education of King *Edward*, were no other than those that his Father had set about him, ever since he was six Year old, as is set down by that young *King* in the *Journal* of his own *Life*, writ with his own hand.

2. Our Author it seems knows both their Names and their Characters alike; for he, whom he calls *Croc*, was *Cox*; and for *Sr. John Cheek*, he was not only one of the learnedest, but was esteemed one of the vertuouslest Gentlemen of his Age: he was indeed prevailed on thro fear, to sign an Abjuration of his Religion in Queen *Mary's* days; but that did so strike him, that he not only went out of *England* quickly, and made an open Retractation of what he had done, but was so affected with the sense of it that he could never overcome it, but fell into a Languishing, of which he soon after died.

XLIV. He says, *that Bucer avowed to the Duke of Northumberland, that*
he.

he did not believe all that was said of Jesus Christ in the New Testament. P. 96.

1. *Sanders*, who very probably made this Story, said, it was to the Lord *Paget* that *Bucer* said this; but now the man is changed. 2. If this had been said to the Duke of *Northumberland*, it is very probable that when he declared his Aversion to the *Reformed Religion*, and to the Preachers of it, at his death, this, which was beyond all other things, would have been mentioned. 3. Or at least, when *Bucer's* Process was made, and his Body burnt, this would have been very probably made use of, if the Lye had been then made. 4. No man of that Age writ with a greater sense of the Kingdom of Christ, than *Bucer* did, in the Book on that subject which he writ for King *Edward's* use.

XLV. He tells us, that on the fourth of November, 1547. at London, a new form of Religion was set up, which as to the Doctrine was almost the same with Calvinism; but they retained the Rites and the exterior of Lutheranism; they

So *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
appointed all the Church-Lands of England to be annexed to the Crown, and never to be again dissolved from it: they also appointed, that there should be a new form of Administring the Sacraments, different from the Roman: that Bishops and Priests should be ordained by this Form: that Images, which were yet held in reverence in some places, for the Miracles that had been wrought before them, should be taken away; and the Kings Arms put in their stead: that the Roman Missal should be abolished, and that the Sacrament should be given in both kinds; and in fine, that the Divine Offices, and above all the Canon of the Liturgy, should be said only in English, tho the Irish and Welsh, who were almost as numerous as the English, understood that Language no more than they did the Latin. And thus by a Revolution that will appear almost incredible to those who know perfectly the Genius of the English Nation, they peaceably changed their Religion, under a Minority, without any Opposition.

Here much patience is requisite to read or examin such a confusion of matters, as Mr. *Varillas* gives us all
at

at once. But 1. The new form of *Religion* was not set out till five year after this, in the year 1552. 2. The *Church-Lands* were never annexed to the Crown; but Mr. *Varillas's* mistake is, that those Chantry-Lands, that had not been suppressed by King *Henry*, were indeed given to King *Edward* by an Act that passed not the fourth of *November*, but the fourteenth of *December*, 1547. 3. The new form of Administring the *Sacraments* was not set out till the fifteenth of *January*, 1549. 4. The new form of *Ordinations* was not set out before the year 1550. 5. *Images* were ordered to be all removed by an Order from the Council the eleventh of *February* 1548. 6. There was never an Order made for setting up the *King's Arms* in the Churches, tho it was done in most places. 7. Our Author had said, that a new form of Administring the *Sacraments* different from the *Roman* was appointed, and now as in a new Article he tells us, that the *Roman Missal* was abolished; but this is one of the Indications from which we may measure his profound Judgment. 8. He puts at the end,

E S

that

82 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

that the *Sacrament* was appointed to be given in both kinds, whereas this was done first of all in an *Act* that past the twentieth of *December*, 1547. 9. He very learnedly makes a distinction between the *Divine Offices*, and the *Canon* of the *Liturgy*, tho as they are in themselves one and the same thing, they are likewise used promiscuously in *England*. 10. The Law for the *Service* in *English* did not extend to *Ireland*, and care was taken to put it quickly into *Welch*. 11. It seems he knows the estimate of our Numbers as well as he does other things, who says, the *Welch* and *Irish* are as many almost as the *English*; whereas they are not perhaps above the tenth man to the *English*. 12. Thus we see his fruitful fourth of *November*, 1547. which he had made so productive, is stript of all, and not any one of all those great Changes belongs to it. But to comfort Mr. *Varillas* a little, I will tell him, that the *Parliament* that enacted one or two of the things he names, was indeed opened the fourth of *November*, 1547. but it is long after a *Parliament* is opened, before an
Act

Act is passed: and thus it appears, that all that sudden change, was a Dream of our Author.

XLVI. He says, *There were five Bishops, London, Winchester, Duresm, Chichester, and P. 97. Worcester, and some of the most learned in the House of Commons, that opposed these things; but yet as soon as they were decreed, they complied, and professed the new Religion.*

There were many of the other *Bishops* that opposed them, as well as those *five*; nor did they ever concur with that which he calls the *new Religion*; for they were all turned out of their *Bishopricks* before the year 1552. in which the Articles of our Religion were agreed on, and set out by Authority. So that if our Author had known the Story better, he should have valued them as *Confessors*; for tho they comply'd in a great many things, yet it appers that they were still true to their old perswasions; upon which they fell in trouble, and were not only turned out illegally, but kept in prison for several years, till Queen *Mary* set them at liberty.

XLVII. He says, that King Henry had ordered the Bible to be printed correctly, and that he had put with it Erasmus's last Paraphrase on the New Testament; but the Duke of Somerset found this Translation did not agree so well with the Doctrine of the Sacramentary's, so he ordered a new Translation to be made, that was more favorable to their figurative expressions. At which the Presses wrought so long, till there was not only a sufficient number of Copies printed off for all the Parish Churches, but likewise for all that could read.

There was no new Translation of the Bible thought on during this reign; for that was done in Queen Elizabeth's time: so that King Henry's continued all this Reign. Nor had King Henry put Erasmus's Paraphrase either with the Bible, or in the Churches; for that was done by the Duke of Somerset; and Gardiners Letters to him are yet extant and in print, complaining of that Paraphrase in a great many particulars. So constantly mistaken is our Author even in matters concerning which it had been easy for him to have found

found better Information.

XLVIII. *Mr. Varillas tells us, that the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Chester, Mena and Sadore comply'd outwardly as Sacramentaries; but lived in the secret practice of the Catholick Religion: Somerset was informed of this, so he ordered some to tell them, that they were the only Prelates of England, that were opposite to the publick Religion: and therefore the King desired to be satisfied in that matter: so the tryal that was required of them, was, that they should marry: which tho it was somewhat uneasy, to men past threescore, yet they comply'd, even in this: and Somerset having by this means rendred them very contemptible, did not only banish them, but put them in prison: and he treated other Bishops in the same manner for their defending the Catholick Religion in full Parliament, tho they had done it very feebly.*

1. I find *Mr. Varillas* is as Ignorant in Geography, as he is in Chronology: for among all the Bishopricks of England he will neither find *Mena* nor *Sadore*. 2. There is indeed an Island, that lyes between England and Ire-

land, that is a Sovereignty, belonging to the Earl of *Derby*. But the Island is *Man*, or in Latin *Mona*, but was never called *Mena*. In this Island there is a Bishop, who is called *Bishop of Man*, but he writes it in Latin *Sodore*: so this is wrong put by Mr. *Varillas Sadore*; yet these may be faults of the press: but the making two Bishopricks out of one, and the making this *Bishop* subject to the King of *England*, and receiving Orders from the Protector, are Faults that he cannot turn over upon his Compositor. 3. It does not appear that either the Archbishop of *York*, or the Bishop of *Chester*, did ever oppose any thing in *Parliament*: for tho many of the other Bishops voted against the changes that were made in matters of Religion, as appears by the Journals of the House of *Lords*, yet these two concurred in every thing: and all *Henry's* time, *Holgate* was considered still as one united to *Cranmer*, and he was by his Interest raised to the *See of York*: as for the Bishop of *Chester*, I confess, I know no particulars. 4. It is true that they were both married; for I found a Com-
mission

mission issued out by Queen *Mary* for turning them out, because of their Marriage: but it is certain, that they were neither in disgrace, nor in prison, all King *Edwards* Reign: for the Archbishop of *York* was all this while in High Favour. 5. *England* is not a Countrey in which the displeasure of a *Regent*, or even *Letters under the Cachet* can either banish or imprison men, chiefly when that is founded only on some suspitions. No; it is a Countrey governed by *Law*: but it seems Mr. *Varillas* had his head full of somewhat nearer him when he writ this.

XLIX. He sets out the *Constancy* of Queen *Mary*, during her Brothers Reign, and that She continued firm in the Religion of her Ancestors: that the *Somerfet* brought the *Italian Divines* *Martyr* and *Ochin* to her, to convince her, She answered all their Objections with great vigor; She spoke stoutly to *Somerfet*; She interrupted the *Privy Councillours*, when they spoke to her of those matters; and She would never hear any of their Sermons, but one only. In short,

P. 100,

101, 102.

short, that she threatned those, that threatned her: and told them, a time would come in which they should answer for that. Her constancy was such, that at last Somerset desired only, that she would at least shut her Chappel doors when Mass was said; but even in that she satisfied him as little as in other things.

Here are so many lovely strokes, that it is a great Pity they are all false. 1. Some Letters past between the *Pro-rector* and her, that are in print; but it does not appear that ever he spoke to her upon this subject. 2. She never pretended to be of the Religion of her Ancestors; but by all her Letters she declared, she was of the Religion that her Father had settled: and she always insisted on his *Laws*, pretending that in a Minority they could not be altered. 3. She spoke *French* well, and understood *Latin*; but she could neither speak *Italian*, nor *Latin*: so she could have no conversations neither with *P. Martyr*, nor *Ochin*: nor is this named among all the Letters that were writ concerning this business. 4. She would never hear any
one

one Sermon; so here the Character was as much slackened, as it was raised in the other parts of this paragraph. For when Bishop *Ridley* went to her, and offered to preach before her, she told him plainly, that she would never hear any one of them. 5. The *Princess* was too discreet to threaten her Brothers *Ministers*, or to talk of a time in which they might be called to an account for what they did: for such Language never comes from Collateral Heirs, unless they are extream indiscreet. 6. The great dispute with the *Princess*, fell out after *Somerſet's* disgrace, and was chiefly set on by the *King* her Brother, who could hardly be prevailed with by the *Privy Council*, to consent to her having *Maſs* still said in her Chappel; and after he had talked with her himself upon that matter, he sets down these words concerning the Resolution that was taken, in his Journal. *The Bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did consider, to give licence to sin was sin: to suffer and wink at it for a time, might be born, so all*

The 20th. day of March 1550.

hast

90 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
best possible might be used.

L. He says, *There was no appearance*
that King Edward could live
P. 103. *till he should be of Age, so that*
Princess Mary was considered
not only as the Presumptive, but as the ne-
cessary Heir of the Crown. But at this
time the Prince of Spain lost his Wife,
and Charles the fifth comforted himself
with the hopes of uniting England to
his other Dominions by marrying his Son
to her; so the Emperour resolved to pro-
tect her, and sent Vargas both to en-
treat, and if that prevailed not, to threa-
ten Somerset, in case he gave any further
disturbance to her, upon which he was
forced to let that matter fall.

All this is so false, that the *Empe-*
roure set on a Treaty of Marriage for
the *Princess* with the *Prince of Portugal*,
of which I gave an account in my Hi-
story : but since that time a Volum
of Original *Letters* has been sent me
by the Heirs of Sr. *Philip Hobby*, who
was then *Ambassadour* in the *Emperours*
Court : in which I find more particu-
lars relating both to this Marriage,
and to the *Princesses* permission for ha-
ving *Mass* in her House. There is
one

one Letter, dated the 19. of *March*, 1550. signed by all the Council, in which they write, that since the Infant of *Portugal* was only the *Kings Brother*, they give up the Treaty for the Match: yet the *Emperour* insisted on the Proposition that he had made: so there is another Original Letter, dated the 20. of *April* thereafter, in which they desire to hear all the particulars that related to the *Infant of Portugal*, and in that they write, That as for the *Lady Mary's Mass*, they had formerly connived at it, but now stricter Laws were made: they had connived so long, hoping that at last she would be prevailed upon: but that a diversity of Rites in matters of Religion was not tolerable, therefore they would grant her no Licence, yet they would connive at her a little longer: but She abused the young Kings Goodness, for she kept as it were open Church both for her Servants and Neighbours. They therefore conclude, wishing that the *Emperour* would give her good Advice in this matter. This Letter of which I had the Original long in my hands, is signed by ten Privy Councillours, and will be I suppose a little better believed,

lieved, than the quotation that Mr. *Varillas* sets on his Margin of *Vargas's Negotiation*; and all this was transacted after the Duke of *Somersets* Disgrace.

LI. He tells us a long story of the methods that the Admiral used P. 122. to compass the Marriage of the Queen Dowager: and the ways he took to engage his Brother *Somerfet*, to consent to it. *Somerfet* moved it to the King, who consented to it likewise, so that the Marriage was made up in hast, and without any solemnity.

Mr. *Varilla* knows this matter, as he does other things, notwithstanding the shew he makes, by citing on the Margin the *Relation of that Intrigue*, which is another of his Impostures; for by the Articles that were objected to the *Admiral*, which are in print, and of which the *Original* is yet extant in the *Council Book*, it appears that the *Admiral* had first courted the Kings Sister *Elisabeth*, and that failing in this design, he afterwards married the *Queen Dowager* so secretly, that none knew of it, and so indecently, that if she had become with Child, soon after the marriage, there would have been

been a great doubt whether the Child should have been accounted *K. Henry's* or *His*: that he kept the Marriage long secret, & he prevailed with the *King* to write to the *Q. Dowager*, and with his *Brother* to speak to her in his Favour: and when all this was done, then the Marriage was declared. So that all his Fictions of *Somerſet's* design of marrying his *Daughter* to the *King*, and of the Remonſtrances that the *Admiral* made to his *Brother*, as well as his Citation, are manifestly false.

LII. He ſets out the common ſtory of the *Dutcheſs of Somerſet's* Diſputing the Place with the *P. 125. Q. Dowager*: and as if it had been a great Affair, he ſpends two Pages arguing both their Pretenſions. He reckons up the Duke of *Somerſet's* Dignities, 1. *He was the Kings Governour.* 2. *He was Regent of the Kingdom.* 3. *He was Protector of the English Nation, a dignity inferiour to none of the other, which was not much inferiour to the Dictatorſhip among the Ancient Romans: and on the other hand, the Admiral was the ſecond Office of the Crown, and a Charge for Life.*
So

So that here was as he thought a Section fit to be copied out by those who would treat of Precedence. But 1. I have shewed fully, that all this quarrel of Precedence among the *Ladies* seems a Fiction; for it is not mentioned in all that time. 2. The Offices of state in *England*, do not communicate any Honour to the Wife: So that the *Queen Dowager* had either still her rank of *Queen Dowager*, or she was only a *Baroness*, her Husband the *Admiral* being only a *Baron*. As the *Dutchess of Somerset* had only the rank of a *Dutchess*. 3. It is clear that the *Q. Dowager* retained her rank, and was mentioned in all the publick Prayers, even before the *Kings Sister*. 4. All those three places that Mr. *Varillas* gives *Somerset*, were but one single Office, and held by one single Patent; for to be *Protector* and *Regent* is the same thing in *England*. His comparing the *Protectors* Dignity to that of the *Roman Dictators*, is another stroke of his ill-will to the Crown of *England*; for among the *Romans* all other Offices ceased, when there was a *Dictator*: so if this were in the *English*
Law,

Law, here were a short way of De-throning our *Kings*. 5. The *Admiral* is far from being the second Office of the Crown; for it only has the Precedence of all those that are of the same rank; so that the *Admiral* was only in rank the first *Baron* of *England*: and tho the great Navyes that have been built since that time, have made it indeed the first Office, as to the real value of it, yet it was but an ordinary elevation when there were no *Royal Fleets*. 6. The *Admiral's* charge is forfeitable as well as any other in *England*, and of this a remarkable Instance appeared in the year 1673. 7. The true occasion of the Quarrel between the *Brothers*, was, that tho the *Protector* was Governour of the *King's* person, yet these two trusts had been sometimes divided: so the *Admiral* pretended to be made the Governour of the *King's* person, and this gave his *Brother* just cause of Jealousy. He had engaged all that were about the *King* in his Interests, and had once got the young *King* to write a *Letter* to the *Parliament*, recommending it to them. The *Protector* was twice willing to be reconciled

96 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
ciled to him, after great Quarrellings;
but his Ambition was incurable. Now
since all this Proceſs and the Articles
againſt the *Admiral* are printed from
the Original Records, it is like Mr.
Varillas to falſify this matter as he
does.

LIII. He tells a long Story, of a
Sermon of Latimers, in which
P. 129. *he named the Admiral as*
one that diſturbed the Re-
gency: and this was done by Somer-
ſet's direction; yet he ſeemed offended
when it was told him; and ſent for
Latimer, and ordered him to retract
that which he had ſaid concerning his
Brother. But Latimer reply'd boldly,
that he knew the Admiral had layd a
design againſt the King's Life, which he
thought himſelf bound to diſcover: up-
on this the Duke of Somerſet ordered
the Judges to take his depoſition; yet he
threatned to proceed againſt him with
the utmoſt ſeverity, if he were found to
be a falſe Accuſer. Latimer had his
Witneſſes laid, and the Conſpiracy was
proved, upon which Somerſet ſeemed to
be very much troubled; yet he ſaid, he
muſt prefer the King's ſafety to all Con-
ſidera-

considerations whatsoever: so he signed a Warrant for his Brothers Imprisonment, his process upon that was made, and he was found guilty of High Treason, and condemned to be quartered, which was accordingly executed the 20. of March, 1549.

I do not know how it comes that in such a series of Falsehoods, our Author has hit the date right: but it is the only circumstance of this whole Recital that is true. For 1. It is true *Latimer* in a Sermon at Court reflecting on the *Atheism* of some about the *King*, described the *Admiral*, who was a man that laughed at Religion: but this had nothing to do with the *State*, and nothing followed upon it. 2. The *Admiral* had broke out the former year, and thought to have made a Rent in the *Parliament*: yet that had been made up, and *Somerſet* had made him a very considerable grant out of the Lands of the Crown; but he laid his design next year deeper, he bought Magasins of Arms, and listed many men: he intended to have carried away the *King*, and had ordered much False Money to be coined: so that all
F this

this being discovered, he was clapt in the Tower: yet a moneth past before the matters against him were brought in to the *Parliament*: and during that time, *Somerſet* tryed, if it was poſſible to bring him to a better mind, but all was in vain. 3. He was not tryed by a Common Court of *Peers*, but was condemned by *Act of Parliament*. 4. There was not a word ſaid in the whole Proceſs, of any Deſign on the Kings Life: on the contrary, he had gained ſo much upon the young *King*, that this gave the greateſt jealouſy of all. 5. He was not quartered, but only beheaded: for the Original warrant for his Execution is yet extant in the Books of *Council*, ſigned by all the Privy Councellours, that mentions expreſſly, *that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his Head and Body ſhould be buried in the Tower*. And now is not Mr. *Varillas* a very Credible Author?

LIV. Our Author ſets down the *Agony, into which the Admiral's Death threw his Wife,*
P. 131. and after he had turned this as Romantically as he could, he makes her to dye, ſo ſoon after her Husband,
that

that She was buried at the same time with him.

But if Mr. *Varillas* had seen the Articles upon which the *Admiral* was condemned, he would have found that the *Queen Dowager* was dead long before, (for she died in the *September* preceding, and as was suspected of *poison*) and that after her death, he had renewed his pretensions to the *Kings* second Sister, *Elisabeth*, which is reckoned among his Crimes, as it was certainly a very great one: and is it not now a great pity to see so tender a stroke in the *Romance* spoiled?

LV. Mr. *Varillas* tells us a long story of the *Earl of Warwick's* Designs to dismount *Somerſet*: P. 133: for doing which the two occasions that presented themselves were, First, the taking of several Forts in the *Bolognese*, and that as the *English* had often failed in observing the *Law of Nations*, so the *French* treated them in the same manner, and put all that they took Prisoners, to the edge of the Sword: that the *English* Souldiers who came over, complained that the Forts that were lost, could not be longer de-

100 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
fended for want of Provisions; that upon this Warwick advised some Malecontents, to demand the calling of a Parliament: and perswaded Somerset likewise to agree to it. The other was a general Insurrection that was among the Commons of England against the Nobility: upon which Warwick likewise pressed Somerset to call a Parliament. So the Members were all chosen by the Earl of Warwicks Means. There appeared before them more Accusers and Witnesses against the Duke of Somerset, than was needful for destroying him: upon which he was put in prison the 14. of October 1549.

How it comes that Mr. *Varillas* has thus given two Dates one after another true, amidst so much falsehood, is that which amases me. But the rest of this Section is writ in his ordinary strain. Yet before I open that, I will take the liberty to set down a passage relating to King *Henry* the Seconds invading the *Bolognese*, which I have found in an Original *Letter* of the *Councils*, writ to *Sr. Philip Hobby*, tho Mr. *Varillas* will perhaps tell me upon it, that I have done an irreparable Injury,

to the Memory of that *King*. In that Letter, that bears date the seventh of September, 1549. and is signed by the Duke of *Somerset* and seven other Councillors, they write, *That the King of France had corrupted two, that had the Charge of one of the Forts, which was by that means lost, and this occasioned the loss of the other Forts; they were surprised with this Invasion: for on the 20. of July last, the French King had promised to their Ambassadour, par la foy d'un Gentilhomme, that he would not make War without giving warning first: and yet he having heard of the Progress of the Insurrections that were in the several parts of England, broke his word four days after he made it.*

That was indeed thought strange in those dayes, but in our days it would not appear extraordinary: since we have seen promises publickly made, and broken in the very time in which they were made.

But now to return to Mr. *Varillas*,
1. He forgot to mention the Western Rebellion, that hapned a little before that rising of the Commons against

the Gentry: tho this was not kindly done of him, since it was by his Friends, the *Zealous Catholicks*, who declared openly, that the change made in Religion, was the reason of their rising.

2. There was no demand made of a *Parliament*; nor was there any need of calling or choosing one; for there was one then on foot, running in a *Prorogation*. 3. Those *Insurrections* were all quieted before there was any opposition made to the Duke of *Somerset's* Government. 4. He was not at all questioned in *Parliament*, but in *Council*; for the greatest part of the *Councillors* went to *London*, and joyned with the *City* to demand the *King* out of his hands, whom he had carried to *Windsor*: and he finding that he was not able to stand against so strong a party, submitted himself to them, upon which he was not only turned out of his *Protectorship*, but was also sent to the *Tower*. And is not Mr. *Varrillas* a fit person to undertake the writing of *History*, who does not know the most Publick and the most Important transactions of those times.

LVI. The next time that Mr. *Varrillas*

rillas returns to *English Affairs*, he tells us, that P. 298. *Dudley, Earl of Warwick, made head against the Duke of Somerset, and threw him out of the Government, clapt him in prison, and cut off his Head, according to form.*

Now I lookt over and over again to see if there was an *a linea* here, because there was an Interval of two years between: for the Duke of *Somerset* came again into a share in the Government, with the rest, and was not beheaded before *January, 1552.* above two year after this. Mr. *Varillas* had excused the like Error in another place, by telling me, that he had begun *a linea.* And so by that, I should have known that there was an Interval of two years: but that being omitted here, I hope he will forgive my taking notice of it.

LVII. After this he gives a long *Negotiation* between *Dudley* now Duke of *Northumberland*, and P. 300. the Court of *France*: which I must conclude to be all a Fiction; for I never saw the least mark of any thing like it, in all the Papers of that time. There is in this a lovely dash of a

Pen in the character of Mr. *de Novailles*, which no doubt Mr. *Varillas* hopes will draw him some *Recompence* from his Heirs. It is the greatest that can possibly be given, but it is certain, that it is as true as the other things that our Author gives out so liberally: he says, *that his fore-*

P. 301. *fight went so far, that the first advance that those who treated with him made, was sufficient to make him discover that which lay hid in their Intentions what care soever they took to disguise them.* But I allow him to go on in such excessive praises, only I wish he were a little less excessive, in something else, that I will not name.

LVIII. He pretends here, *That both King Edward's Sisters, Elisabeth, as well as Mary, made open Profession of the Catholic Religion.* The contrary to this is so well known, that tho it was often objected to Queen *Elisabeth*, that she had dissembled her Religion in her Sister Queen *Mary's* time, it was never so much as once objected to her, that she had professed *Popery* in King *Edward's* time.

LIX. After a series of things that are equally true and pertinent, he tells us, *that when the D. of Northumberland got the Marriage of Jean Grey for his Son Guilford; her two Sisters were married to the Earles of Pembrok and Huntington.* P. 310.

But I have warned him not to meddle with Genealogies: yet nothing will prevail upon him. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his second Daughter to the Earl of *Huntington*, his eldest having married to *Sidney*, the Earl of *Leicester's* Ancestor, in whose Arms King *Edward* dyed. Lady *Jean Gray's* second Sister was indeed married to the Earl of *Pembrok's* eldest Son, and her third Sister that was crooked, was married to one *Keyes*, an ordinary Gentleman.

LX. He says, *upon this nothing remained for the Duke of Northumberland to do, but to forge a Testament for King Edward, by which both his Sisters and the Queen of Scotland were excluded from the Succession: his Sisters as being both Bastards; and the Queen of Scotland because born*

106 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
out of the Kingdom: so that the Succession
came to the Dutcheſs of Suffolk's
Daughters.

All this with all the other particulars mentioned by Mr. *Varillas*, which are too many to be ſet down, are all falſe. In the Declaration that King *Edward* made, there is no ſpecial excluſion of his *Siſters*, or of the *Queen of Scots*, tho they are in effect excluded, the *Daughters of Suffolk* being declared the next Heirs. 2. This was not done by a *Teſtament*, but by a *Declaration* made in *Council*, all writ with the *King's own Hand*; upon which an *Act of Council* was alſo ſigned by all the Board: and then *Letters Patents* were paſſed under the Seal conform to it. 3. There was no poſſibility of Forgery here, for it was done too ſolemnly to admit of that: and here I will publiſh the diſcovery that I have made in that matter, ſince I writ my *History*. The *Original Paper* all writ with *K. Edward's own Hand*, and the original *Act of Council*, ſigned by all the *Council*, have come into my Hands: and as I kept them long enough by me, to ſhew them to many perſons, ſo
I have

I have thought fit to publish them here, as Papers that are extremely curious: and I would gladly do somewhat that may be a better entertainment to the Reader, than the constant discovery of a series of Errors, which come so thick one upon another, that there is not any one part found.

K. E D W A R D ' S Device
for the Succession.

„ **F** Or lack of Issue Male of
 „ my Body, *to the Issue Male*
 „ *coming of the Issue female; as I*
 „ *have after declared, to the Lady*
 „ *Francis's Heirs Males, if She*
 „ *have any; for lack of such Is-*
 „ *sue before my death, to the L.*
 „ *Jane, and her Heir's Males; to*
 „ *the L. Katherine's Heir's Males;*
 „ *to the L. Marie's Heir's Males;*
 „ *to the Heirs Males of the Daugh-*
 „ *ters which She shall have here-*
 „ *after: then to the L. Marget's*
 „ F 6 Heir's

„ Heir's Males; for lack of such
 „ Issue to the Heir's Males of
 „ the Lady *Janes* Daughters; to
 „ the Heirs Males of the L. *Kathe-*
 „ *rin's* Daughters, and so forth, till
 „ you come to the L. *Marget's*
 „ Heir's Males.

„ 2. If after my death the Heir
 „ Male be entred into 18. year
 „ old, then he to have the whole
 „ Rule and Governance thereof.

„ 3. But if he be under 18. then
 „ his Mother to be Governess till
 „ he enter 18. year old; but to do
 „ nothing without the Advice and
 „ Agreement of six, parcel of a
 „ Council, to be pointed by my
 „ Last Will, to the number of
 „ twenty.

„ 4. If the Mother dye before
 „ the Heir enter into 18. the
 „ Realm to be governed by the
 „ Council, provided that after he
 „ be 14. year, all great matters of
 „ importance be opened to him.

„ 5. If

„ * 5. If I died without Issue,
„ and there were none Heir Male,
„ then the Lady *Francis* to be Go-
„ verness Regent; for lack of her,
„ her eldest Daughters, and for
„ lack of them, the *L. Marget* to be
„ Governess after, as is aforesaid,
„ till some Heir Male be born,
„ and then the Mother of that
„ Child to be Governess.

„ 6. And if during the Rule of
„ the Governess there dye four of
„ the Council, then shall She by
„ her Letters call an Assembly
„ of the Council, within one
„ month following, and choose
„ four more, wherein She shall
„ have three Voices; but after her
„ death, the 16. shall choose a-
„ mong themselves till the Heir
„ come to 14. year old, and then he
„ by their Advise shall choose
„ them. *The*

* These two last Paragraphs and what is
printed in a different Character, are dasht
out, yet so as to be legible,

*The Order of King EDWARD
the Sixth, and of his Privy Council,
concerning the Succession to the
Crown.*

EDWARD;

Ex M.S.D. " **W**E whose Hands
C. Petyt. " are underwrit-
,, ten, having heretofore
,, many times heard the Kings Ma-
,, jesty, our most gracious Sove-
,, raign Lord's earnest Desire and
,, expresse Commandment, touch-
,, the Limitation of the Succession
,, in the Imperial Crown of this
,, Realm, and others his Majesties
,, Realms and Dominions; and
,, having seen His Majesty's own
,, Devise touching the said Suc-
,, cession first, wholly written with
,, His most Gracious Hand, and
,, after copied out in His Majesty's
,, presence, by His most high Com-
,, mandment, and confirmed with
,, the

„the Subscription of His Maje-
„sties own Hand, and by His
„Highness delivered to certain
„Judges, and other learned men,
„to be written in full order : do
„by His Majesty's special and
„absolute Commandment est-
„soons given us, agree, and by
„these presents signed with our
„Hands, and sealed with our
„Seales, promise by our Oaths and
„Honours to observe, fully per-
„form, and keep, all and every
„Article, Clause, Branch and
„Matter, contained in the said
„Writing, delivered to the Judges
„and others, and superscribed
„with His Majesty's Hand in six
„several places, and all such other
„matter as His Majesty by his
„Last Will shall appoint, declare
„or command touching or con-
„cerning the Limitation of the
„Succession of the said Imperial
„Crown. And we do further pro-
„mise

„ mise by His Majesty's said Com.
 „ mandment, never to vary or
 „ swerve during our lives, from
 „ the said Limitation of the Suc-
 „ cession, but the same shall to
 „ the uttermost of our powers de-
 „ fend and maintain. And if any
 „ of us or any other shall at any
 „ time hereafter (which God for-
 „ bid) vary from this Agreement,
 „ or any part thereof: We and e-
 „ very of us do assent to take,
 „ use, and repute him for a Breaker
 „ of the Common Concord, Peace
 „ and Unity of this Realm, and to
 „ do our uttermost to see him or
 „ them so varying or swearving,
 „ punished with most sharp pu-
 „ nishments according to their
 „ deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely Canc. Winchester. Northumberland.
I. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. North. F. Shrewsbury.
F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clynton. T. Darcy.
G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Chene. Iohn Gate.
William Petre. Iohn Cheek. W. Cecil. Edward
Mountague. Iohn Baker.

Edward Gryffin. Iohn Lucas. Iohn Gosnald.

By

By these Evidences it will appear that what Faults soever may be charged on the Memory of the Duke of *Northumberland*, this of forging King *Edward's Testament* is none of them.

LXI. He says, *the D. of Northumberland obliged all Mary and Elisabeth's Friends to abandon them, and made them be kept as close Prisoners in Hunsden-Castle, as if they had been Criminals.* But these two *Sisters* were never so good Friends as to live together. 2. They were both so free with their Families, that Princess *Mary* was on her way to see King *Edward*, and on the road she met the news of his Death.

LXII. He says, *It was five moneths past from the time of Northumberland's Son's marrying L. Jean Gray, when K. Edward died on the sixth of July.* There was but five weeks past, for they were married in the beginning of *June*, but on what day of *June* it is not certain, for ought I know.

LXIII. He tells us, *that Northumberland concealed King Edwards death*

as long as he could: and that
P. 314. *some days after that, Jean*
Gray made a magnificent En-
try thro London, and then came on the
War with Queen Mary. But this whole
 business lasted only nine dayes; from
 whence it is thought that the English
 Proverb of a *Nine days wonder*, took
 its beginning. So he ought to manage
 this time a little better: Indeed this
 Phantasm of Lady *Jean Gray*, as it dis-
 appeared soon, so it never had force
 enough to pretend to any Magnifi-
 cence: two dayes after King *Edward's*
 Death, she was conveyed secretly to
 the *Tower of London*, out of which she
 never came; for after a weeks Pagean-
 try of her *Queenship*, she was kept
 there till her Head was cut off.

LXIV. Mr. *Varillas*, who will al-
 ways discover the secretest springs of
 mens thoughts, pretends to
P. 315. tell us, *that the ground of the*
hatred that the Nation bore to
the Duke of Northumberland, was his
rendring of Bulloigne to the French.
 And here he tells us in his way (that is,
 with an equal measure of Ignorance
 and Presumption) *the various Refle-*
ctions

tions that the English made on that matter. But as for the rendring of *Bulloigne*, it was indeed necessary, since the Forts that covered it, had been taken: and this having fallen out during *Somerſet's* Ministry, the blame of this loſs was laid wholly on him. 2. There were ſeveral *Sessions* of *Parliament* after that rendition, which fell out immediately upon the Duke of *Somerſet's* Fall; and a new one was called in the end of this Reign, yet no complaint was ever made in *Parliament* upon that head. 3. The Duke of *Northumberland* was leſs guilty of it than any of the *Ministry*; for when the *Emperour* reſuſed to aſſiſt them, the *Ministry* ſaw, that a War with *France* and *Scotland* was too great a load upon them in a Minority, in which their only conſiderable *Ally* failed them: ſo that they reſolved to make a Peace by the rendring of *Bulloigne*: yet tho the Duke of *Northumberland* ſaw this could not be oppoſed, he abſented himſelf for ſome days from *Council*, and ſo did not ſign the Peace with the other *Privy Counſellors*, who ſigned it, and of which the Original Order was long
in

in my Hands. For the Original *Council-Book*, in which all the most Important Resolutions were signed by the whole Board, had fallen into private hands, and was presented to me: but I delivered it in to the *Clerks* of the *Privy Council* to be preserved by them, with the care that is due to the most Authentic *Remain* of the last Age.

4. But as Mr. *Varillas* tells a false ground of the Aversion that the *English* had to the Duke of *Northumberland*, so he did not know the true ones; tho' they are mentioned by all our Authors. He was excessively haughty, and violent; he was believed to be a man of no Religion: It was generally thought, that he had destroyed the Duke of *Somerset* by false Witnesses; he had now excluded the right *Heirs* of the *Crown* to set up his own *Son*; and which was beyond all the rest, in the spirits of the people, it was generally believed that King *Edward* was poisoned by his directions: and here are grounds of a general dislike, that were a little better founded than that feigned one for the delivering up of *Bulloigne*, three years before: but a man that will needs be

a Writer of *History*, in spite of so profound an Ignorance, must ramble about for conjectures: and if he has as little judgment as sincerity, he must make such as Mr. *Varillas* does.

LXV. He tells us, *that immediately upon King Edward's death, Northumberland sent a body of Horse to seise on Queen Mary.* P. 318. But here his Memory failed him too soon; for he had but six pages before said, that both *She* and her Sister *Elisabeth* were kept close prisoners in *Hunsden*: so there was no occasion for *seising on her person*.

LXVI. He tells us, *that Petre, Secretary to the D. of Northumberland, who was a Catholick,* *Ibid.* *tho he had pretended to be a Calvinist, that so he might raise himself, was prevailed on by the same Ambition, now to betray his Master: so he went himself, as soon as King Edward expired, to give Queen Mary notice of the design, that was laid against her: and he made such hast that he came to Hunsden two hours before the body of Horse: so he being well known to those who kept her, was admitted to her, and*
he

he not only warned her of her danger, but he found a way to convey both her and himself away.

Some body in Charity to Mr. *Varillas* should have told him, that there was at present a *Jesuite*, in great credit in a certain *Court of Europe*, that is lineally descended from this *Petre*; yet to comfort him, tho those of that Order, are not much celebrated for their great readiness to forgive, I am confident *F. Petre* will think him below his wrath, notwithstanding this injury that he does the memory of his Ancestor. I dare not say, his *Grand-Father*, lest he finds out, as he did in the case of the *L. Darnly*, that he was his *Great Grand-father*. I will not call this an *irreparable Injury*, to use Mr. *Varillas's* terms in the case of King *Henry* the Seventh; for I do not think that he is capable of doing an *Irreparable injury* to any body. But to return to *Petre*, he had been long *Secretary of State*, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*, and so was not *Northumberland's Secretary*. 2. He was always esteemed a *Protestant*, and was a vertuous and sincere man: if he was a *Catholick*, he was a very bad one: for

for his Family to this day feels what a great Estate he made out of the *Abbey Lands*. 3. He continued stile with *Northumberland*, and was one of those who signed the Letter to Queen *Mary*, in the pretended *Q. Jean's* Name, ordering her to lay down her pretensions. 4. He was removed from his Office of *Secretary*, as soon as *Q. Mary* came to the Crown: and here I lost sight of him, and do not know what became of him afterwards, or when it was that the *Family* was raised to the dignity of being *Peers of England*. 5. It was the Earl of *Arundel*, that sent Queen *Mary* the notice of her *Brothers Death*, and of the design then on foot against her; for she was then within half a days journey of *London* on her way, to see her *Brother*; and it seems that *Northumberland* durst not venture on so hardy a thing, as the seizing on *her*, but he intended to make her come, as it were to see her *Brother*, and so to get her to throw herself into his hands.

LXVII. He says, *Northumberland had four things for him; King Edward's Testament, the Pu-* P. 320.
blick

120 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
blick Treasure, the Army, and the
Fleet: but Queen Mary went to Nor-
folk, where She knew how much he
was hated for his having sold Bul-
loigne to the French. But I have already
shewed, that the Settlement of the
Crown was not done by Testament, but
by Letters Patents. And as at that time
there was no Fleet, nor standing Army
at all: so there was scarce any Money
in the Treasury. 2. The Duke of
Northumberland was indeed much ha-
ted in Norfolk, but not for the busi-
ness of Bulloigne; but besides the general
Considerations, that had rendred him
odious to the whole Nation; he had
subbued the Insurrection of Norfolk
of the Commons against the Gentry,
and had been very severe in his Mili-
tary Executions. 3. Q. Mary did not
go to Norfolk: she went indeed very
near it, but she staid still in Suffolk.

LXVIII. Mr. Varillas tells us, that
the Earles of Derby, Essex
P. 321. and Hastings, were not Infe-
riour in any respect, to those
who had married the Lady Jean Gray's
Sisters: so they declared for Q. Mary,
on two conditions, the one was, that She
should

should never marry a Stranger: and the other, that She should make no change in matters of Religion; but tho *Q. Mary* was absolutely resolved to observe neither of these; yet since there are few Examples of those who would lose a Crown rather than not promise the things which they neither can nor will observe, She promised all that was asked of her; upon which those three Earles being perswaded that they had provided sufficiently for Calvinism; took the Field with their Friends, and having assured all people that they had received a full Security for the established Religion, they quickly brought together an Army of 15000. men.

Our Author is always unhappy, when he comes to particulars: for 1. the Earl of *Derby* was a zealous *Papist* and had protested in *Parliament* against all the Changes that had been made. 2. He had no hand in the re-establishing of *Queen Mary*, for the business was done before there was any occasion of raising the remote Counties. 3. There was no Earl of *Essex* at this time: for that Title was bestowed on none from *Cromwells* fall,

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till

till the exaltation of Queen *Elisabeth's* Favorite to it. 4. There was no Earl of *Hastings*: the Earl of *Huntingtons* Son carries the Title of Lord *Hastings*: and our Author had bestowed on him *L. Jean Gray's* Sister. 5. The Earl of *Sussex* was the person that did the greatest service of all to the *Queen*, who is not so much as named by Mr. *Varillas*. 6. It was the People of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, that asked those assurances of the *Queen* in the matters of *Religion*; but it does not appear that any of the *Nobility* made any such demands. 7. Nor is there any mention made of their asking any Assurances of her, that she should not marry a Stranger. 8. The care, that our Author uses here, in setting forth Queen *Mary's* Dissimulation, and her granting of Promises, that she never intended to observe, and the general Reflection that upon that he makes on *Crowned Heads*; looks as if he had a mind to cover the Infamy of some late Violations of Promises and Oaths, by shewing that this has been the way of *Crowned Heads* at all times: and perhaps this is to be a part of the *Panegyrick*;

rick; but since Mr. *Varillus* had taxed the zealous *Catholicks* of *England*, as *Imprudent*, for laying down Arms upon King *Henry's* word, why might not he have put the same Censure here, on those zealous *Protestants*, who took up Arms upon Queen *Mary's* word; since as he sets out the matter, they had less reason to trust her, than the other Rebels had to trust her Father?

LXIX. He tells us, that Northumberland marched against her with some old Troops, that he P. 322. had ready: fancying that She was but 15000. strong; but he found She was 30000. strong: two parts of three of his Army refused to fight, and some went over to the Queen with flying Colours: so he was forced to return to London, reckoning that he was still Master of the City, and the Fleet: but at his return he found the Gates shut upon him; and that the City had declared against him, whose Example was followed by the Fleet. So seeing all was lost, he rendered himself upon discretion, ten dayes after he had crowned Jean of Suffolk.

This Section is as exactly writ as

the former ; for 1. *Northumberland* had no old Troops, and he marched from *London* with 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, such as could be brought together of the sudden. 2. *Jean Gray* was never *Crowned* : she was only proclaimed *Queen*. 3. *Northumberland* never marched back to *London*, but seeing the *Queen's* forces encrease, and that none came in to him, he came into *Cambridge*, and proclaimed *Queen Mary*. 4. It was not so much the *City of London*, as the whole *Privy Council* that declared for *Queen Mary*. 5. There was no *Fleet* then to change sides: for *Mr. Varillas* knowing nothing of the past Age, and only hearing that at present the *English Fleet* is the greatest in the world, he has this ever in his head, and fancies that it was so at all times. 6. *Nothumberland* did not render himself, but was apprehended as a Criminal by the *Earl of Arundel*, who was sent to seize on him.

LXX. He tells us, that *Northumberland* was presently put in *Ibid. Irons*; but he retained so great a presence of Spirit, when he came to be examined before the Council, that
Mr.

Mr. Varillas thought fit to set this out with all the Pomp that his Sublime could furnish: he puts Harangues in his mouth, by which he confounded the Privy Councillours, among whom he names the *Earl of Chieresberi*: but his crimes being so notorious, he with his four Sons were condemned to dye as Traitors. The Queen pardoned three, but was inexorable to the fourth: and when Northumberland saw there was no hope of life, he declared that he had been only a Calvinist out of Interest; and expressed a great detestation of that Religion, and of the Preachers of it: and suffered with a constancy that was admired by all that saw it: those who suffered with him imitating his conversion; this had a great effect on peoples spirits.

1. Men of the Duke of Northumberland's quality, are never put in Irons in England. 2. He shewed so little courage, that he threw himself at the *Earl of Arundel's* feet abjectly to beg his Favour. 3. Our Author confounds his being brought to his Tryal, before a Lord Steward, and the Peers of England, with an Examination before the Council: and his making the

G 3 Council

126. *Reflection on the Third and Fourth*

Council condemn him, shews that he does not know the commonest points of form in the Government of *England*.

4. All this Constancy and arguing that he puts in *Northumberlands* mouth, is taken from two points in *Law* that he proposed to the *Peers*, that were his Judges: The one was, *whether a man acting by Order of Council, and by Warrants under the Great Seal, could be esteemed a Criminal*: the other was, *whether one that had acted so, could be judged by Peers, that had given him those Orders, and that were as guilty as himself*.

5. Tho these were points in *Law* that might have some colour in them, yet they were far from confounding any: for a *Council* or a *Great Seal* flowing from an *Usurper*, is nothing: so this Authority could not justify him: and as for those who were as guilty as himself, and yet were now his Judges; they were not convicted of the guilt: and no *Peer* can be set aside in a Tryal, upon general surmises, how true soever they may be. 6. I confess it was some time, before I could find out who this Earl of *Chieresberi* was. At last I saw it must be *Shrewsbury*, who should

should have been a little better known to Mr. *Varillas*: unless he has read the *French Story* as carelessly as he has done the *English*; for the Illustrious Ancestors of that Family left such marks of their valour behind them in *France*, that one should think that *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, should be the Family of all *England*, in which a *French Writer* should be the least apt to mistake. And this confirms me in my opinion, that Mr. *Varillas* has never read History.

7. There were none of *Northumberland's Sons* tryed at that time, but his eldest Son the Earl of *Warwick*: for he had been called by writ to the House of *Lords*, and so was to be tried as a *Peer*: but the rest were *Commoners*; and were tryed some moneths after this. 8. He makes Queen *Mary* less merciful than she was: for it was believed she would have pardoned both *Jean* of *Suffolk* and her *Husband*; if upon the *Rebellion* that was raised six moneths after this, it had not been then thought necessary to take to severer Councils. 9. It was believed at that time, that *Northumberland* declared himself a *Roman Catholick*, in

hope to save his life by the means. 10. His constancy was not very extraordinary; for there passed some severe expostulations between Sr. *John Gates* and him : who as they had been complices in the Rebellion, so now being brought to suffer together, they died reproaching one another. 11. It does not appear, that any other of those who suffered, changed their Religion: Nor 12. Is it likely that such a Declaration of men, who were so odious to the Nation, and who in the making of it, did likewise shew that they had made a small account of Religion, could have any great effect on those who saw it.

LXXI. Mr. *Varillas* will never give over his bold Quotations; for P. 328. here he tells us, *that Charles the fifth advised Queen Mary, not to proceed so hastily in the change of Religion; and that he believed She would find before long, that it would not be safe to her, to break her promise.* And to confirm this, he cites on the margin, *Charles the fifths Letters to Q. Mary.*

This would make one that does not know the man, fancy that there was some Register or Collection of those Letters

Letters, which he had seen ; I have indeed seen those Letters ; for the Originals of them are extant ; and I shewed them once to the *Spanish Ambassadour* at *London*, *Don Pedro de Ronquillas*, who did me the honour to desire me to accompany him to the *Cotton Library*, where I not only shewed him these Letters, but as many of the other *Original Papers*, out of which I had drawn my *History*, as could be examined at one time : but for *Charles* the fifts Letters, they are so little legible, and the *Queen of Hungary's* hand is so little better than his, that I could not copy them out, nor print them : some little hints I took from them, but that was all. 2. It seems *Mr. Varillas* was not much concerned in *Queen Mary's* breaking her word ; for in those Letters, that he makes up for *Charles*, all that he makes him set before her, is the danger of it, and that she could not do it long safe (*Impunement*) if she had a vast Army in any strong places, a great Fleet, and a huge Revenue, then the breaking of her word would have troubled *Mr. Varillas* so little, that it would not have hindred him from making

G 5 king.

king her *Panegyrick*: tho the violation of her Faith was so much the more scandalous, that those to whom she gave it, had settled her upon her Throne; and perhaps he will find somewhat parallel to this, to put in his *Panegyrick*.

LXXII. He goes on with his Romance, and tells us, that *Queen Ibid.* Mary writ back to the Emperour a more *Heroical Answer* than can be found among all the Letters of the Crowned Heads of the last Age: She told him what Wonders of Providence She had hitherto met with, and that therefore She was more bound than any other not to be unthankful: and to conclude with a soft period, She said, She would be guilty of as many Crimes as She lived minutes without acquitting her self of her duty. These effects followed on those words: She repealed by *Authenticall Acts*, all that had been done by her Father or her Brother, to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion: and tho She had reason to fear the Malecontents of some, who having lived long without Religion, would not willingly receive again that yoke which they had thrown

thrown off, yet She reduced them all with more haughtiness, than the most esteemed and the most absolute Prince that ever reigned in England: She dismissed the Armed Companies that were about her; She renounced the title of Head of the Church of England, and re-established the Exercise of the Catholick Religion every where: And it is to be considered, that all this was done in the year 1553. and before Haviets Rebellion.

Mr. Varillas would make his Reader believe, that Queen Mary was a Heroine indeed; and he carries the character as high as he can, that so when he comes to write his *Panegyrick*, all the Praises he has bestowed on her, may give so much the more lustre to his *Monarch*, who after all is to be preferred to her: for tho she excelled all the Crowned Heads of the last Age, yet she must come humbly & lay down all her Glory to enrich the *Panegyrik* of one of the Princes of the present.

2. Mr. Varillas would make us believe, that he saw both her Letters, and the Letters of all the other crowned Heads of the last Age; & I believe both is alike

true. 3. Those soft and melting Periods that he gives us out of her Letter, have a sort of an affected Eloquence in them, that may pass from a man like Mr. *Varillas*; but they have not that native Beauty and Greatness, that is the stile of those that are born to command. 4. If our Author had examined *Queen Mary's Letters*, he would have found some of them of a far different strain: he would have found her acknowledged King Henry's Supremacy; renounce the Popes Authority; confess that her Mothers Marriage was by the Law of God and Man incestuous, and unlawful: he would have found her express her Sorrow for her former Stubbornness, and Disobedience to her Father's most just and vertuous Laws; and put her Soul in his hands; vowing never to vary from his Orders; and that her Conscience should be always directed by him: and when her opinion was asked of Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Relicks, he would have found her declare, that in all these things She had no opinion at all, but such as She should receive from the King; who had her whole Heart in his keeping, and might imprint upon it,

in these and all other matters, whatever his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning should think convenient for her. These were her strains, while she was yet a Subject, and under the yoke of a Father: and of these the Originals are yet extant. 4. All the change that she made the first year of her Reign, was to abolish what her Brother had done, and to bring things back to the state in which her Father had left them: upon which Cardinal Pool writ her a Letter full of severe expostulations; for he said, *this was to establish Schism by a Law.* 5. Our Author represents all these changes as made of the sudden, before she dismissed the people that came up with her to London, and as if she had done all by her own Authority, whereas it was the work of three Parliaments one after another. 6. The Queen kept still her Title of *Supream Head of the Church*, above a year after this, and in two Parliaments that she called, she carried that among her other Titles, and in the vertue of it turned out Bishops, and licensed Preachers, besides a great many other exercises of her Su-

134 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
premacý : so far was she from laying it
aside at first.

LXXIII. Mr. *Varillas*, after he had
diversified his *Romance* with
P. 352. the intermixture of other
Affairs, returns back to *En-*
gland, and lets us see how little the
Queen was inclined to keep the Promises
that She had made her Subjects: for the
day after her Coronation, it appeared to
the Curious, that She had made some
Infracti~~ons~~ in her Promises touching Re-
ligion; tho She had not yet been tempted
to break the other. She ballanced indeed
whether She should marry one of her own
Subjects or not. Card. Pool and Court-
ney, Earl of Devonshire, were the
only two that were left of the Blood
Royal. Pool had many great Qualities,
which are set out as Romances paint
their Hero's, as well as Courtney's: who
was descended by his Mother from the
House of York: He was beautiful, had
a good meen, and was so well bred, that
at two and twenty, he was the most ac-
complished Cavalier of Great Britain.
He spake the Chief Languages of Eu-
rop~~e~~, and was very learned. His Mo-
ther had been Queen Mary's Friend, that
never

never left her day nor night: and some have said, that the Queen once promised to her, that She would marry her Son. But he adds, That the Queen had owned her Design for Pool to Commendon: yet after all, Pool was near sixty, and Courtney was very loose: so this disposed her to the match with the Prince of Spain, which Charles the fifth, who had projected the Conquest of France, desired exireamly, in order to the accomplishing of that design. A P. 361. little after this, he tells us, that both Pool and Courtney were equally near the Crown: Pool was the Grand-child of a Sister of Henry the Seventh, and so he was of the House of Lancaster, but Courtney was the Grand-child of Edward the Fourth.

And now here are as any faults as could be well laid together in so few words: 1. The Queen was not Crowned till the tenth of October, and long before that time not only the curious, but men as ignorant as Mr. Varillas, saw how little regard she had to her Promise for preserving the established Religion: most of the Bishops were by that time clapt up in the Tower,

Tower, all preaching was prohibited, except by those who had the *Queen's* Licences; and such as came to put her in mind of her Promises, were punished as Insolent Persons. 2. He says, she had not been yet tempted in the point of Marrying a Stranger: yet in his *Preface* he had set her forth as entertaining *Commendon*, with her design for marrying the *Prince of Spain*, and he left her in *August*. 3. There were several others of the Royal Family, and in the same degree with Cardinal *Pool*, whose Posterities are yet remaining: these were the Earl of *Huntington's* Family, and that of the *Baringtones* in *Essex*. 4. Cardinal *Pool*, who died five year after this, was but 59. when he died. 5. *Courtney's* Mother was not of the House of *Tork*, but his Grandmother, who was *Edward* the Fourth's Daughter. A-Mother for a Grandmother is as great a fault as a Grandmother for a Great-grandmother, with which he reproaches me so severely in his Answer to my *Reflections*. 6. *Courtney* was so far from having any advantages of breeding, that he had been kept a Prisoner thirteen years in the
Tower

Tower of London, ever since his Father was attainted. 7. His Mother was likewise all that while a Prisoner, and so had not those opportunities of being with the *Queen*. 8. Cardinal *Pool* was of the House of *York*, his Mother being Daughter to the Duke of *Clarence*, that was *Edward* the Fourth's Brother. 9. *Courtney* was so far from being vicious and lewd, that he was rather too sullen, which was imputed to his Imprisonment in his youth, that had made him Melancholy and studious. 10. The pretence of a promise that *Queen Mary* gave to *Courtney's Mother*, to marry her Son, is by all other Authors put upon Cardinal *Pool*: but I believe both are alike true. 11. *Courtney* was not Grand-child, but Great-grandchild to *Edward* the Fourth. 12. It was believed at that time, that the *Queen* had really such Inclinations to *Courtney*, that if he had not by a strange coldness neglected her, applying himself more to her Sister *Elizabeth*, she would have married him: and that her hatred of her Sister, was encreased when she saw to which of the two *Courtney* gave the Preference.

13. The

13. The *Queen* had only insinuated to *Commendon* her inclinations for Card. *Pool*.

LXXIV. Mr. *Varillas* tells us of one *Sr. Thomas Haviet*, a *P. 359.* zealous Calvinist, one of a great Family, and highly esteemed, both by the Nobility and the People (which he sets out in his Romantical way very elegantly as he thinks, no doubt) and in a word, one that had all the Qualities necessary for the Head of a Party, except that of being of the Blood Royal. This *Haviet* then resolved to hinder the Match with Spain, and in order to the doing of it, he found it necessary to set up the Princess *Elisabeth*: and *Courtney* being set on by Rage and Jealousy, since he saw the *Queen* disappointed him, and was treating for the Spanish Match, joined likewise into *Haviets* Conspiracy.

Most men besides our Author know the names of those of whom they undertake to write; but who would think that this *Haviet*, that has so large a part of this story assigned him, was no other then *Sr. Thomas Wiat*, that as is pretended, owned that he had corrupted

corrupted *Anne Bullen*: and yet now he is made a Rebel to advance the Daughter, who certainly could never forgive so publick an injury as he had done her Mother, if our Author's former Story of him is true. Perhaps Mr. *Varillas* perceived this: and therefore resolved to give him here a new Name; for tho all the printed Histories make him *Sr. Thomas Wiat*; yet he will make him *Haviet*, tho this name is not so much as known in *England*. But *Haviet* may pass for *Wiat* as well

as *Millethon* for *Maidston*, P. 362.

and *Camdavat* for *Southwark*, P. 366.

and *Quincethon* for *Kingston*. P. 367.

It is true, there is some sort of affinity between *Millethon* and *Maidston*; for they begin and end with a Letter; and even that is much for Mr. *Varillas*. *Quincethon* and *Kingston* are more remote, yet an ill pronounciation, might make a man mistake the one for the other; for I have often taken notice of this, that Mr. *Varillas* has heard a great deal, but has read very little History: yet how *Camdavat* could pass for *Southwark*, is that which I cannot comprehend: and as
little

little how *Haviet* was put for *Wiat*, if this last was not an Artifice of Mr. *Varillas*'s. But instead of following Mr. *Varillas* thro all his Impertinences, I fancy it will please my Reader better, if I mention some particulars of that business, which I drew from a Relation of the matter writ by Sr. *Thomas Wiat*'s own Son, of which I give an account in my *Reply* to Mr. *Varillas*.

„ Sir *Thomas Wiat*, tho the Duke of
 „ *Northumberland*'s Kinsman, would
 „ not join with him in the business of
 „ L. *Jean Gray*: but proclaimed Queen
 „ *Mary* at *Maidston*, before he knew
 „ that any others had done it: yet he
 „ did not run to her for thanks, as ma-
 „ ny others did: but she was so sensi-
 „ ble of this service, that she sent the
 „ Earl of *Arundel* with her thanks to
 „ him, to which he appealed in his
 „ Trial. But he quickly saw how mat-
 „ ters were like to go, so he had ob-
 „ tained a pass to go beyond Sea:
 „ which he had put in Execution, if
 „ his Wife's being big with Child, had
 „ not stay'd him till she was brought
 „ to bed. He had observed so much of
 „ the temper of the *Spanish Ministers*,
 „ when

„ when he was Ambassador in *Charles*
 „ the fifths Court, that his love to his
 „ Countrey made him extream appre-
 „ hensive of the Misery of the Nation,
 „ if it should fall under that yoke. He
 „ never so much as pretended that *Re-*
 „ *ligion* was his motive: and *Papists* as
 „ well as *Protestants* joined with him:
 „ and if he had designed any mischief to
 „ the *Queen*, it was in his power to
 „ have executed it; for when he passed
 „ by *Charingcross*, *Whitehal* was ill
 „ defended: and many of the Earl of
 „ *Pembrokes* men came over to him: but
 „ he marcht onto the City of *London*,
 „ having no other intentions but to
 „ concur with them in opposing the
 „ Match: and the *Queen* her self was so
 „ fully assured that he designed no hurt
 „ to her, that she was resolved to par-
 „ don him, if a Message had not come
 „ from *Brussels*, upon which his Head
 „ was cut off. He never accused the
 „ *Queen's Sister*, tho he was once so
 „ entangled by Questions, that were
 „ put to him, that he answered some-
 „ what that reflected on the Earl of
 „ *Devonshire*, for which he afterwards
 „ beg'd his pardon: and to shew that
 „ he

„he had alwayes vindicated Queen
 „*Elisabeth*, he not only did it in very
 „plain words on the Scaffold, but
 „said likewise, *that she was not privy*
 „*to his Matters, as he had delivered in*
 „*his Declaration made before the Privy*
 „*Council.* This account of that mat-
 ters, as it supplys some defects that are
 in my *History*, so it shews that Mr. *Varil-*
las had told both the name of the per-
 son, and the History it self, alike true.

LXXV. He tells us, *that this*
Haviet having made himself
 P. 362. *sure of the town of Millethon,*
put off the Mask: and came up
to Rochester, at the head of 1200. Horse
and 8000. Foot: and was received into
it the 22. of January, 1554. He intended
to go on in great marches to London, but
all this did not disorder the Queen, who
put the Troops that she had about her,
under the Command of the Duke of
Norfolk, and of his Brother, that was
Admiral of England: and ordered them
to march in the very minute in which
she received the news of the Insurre-
ction, thoit was just at midnight on the
22. of January. The two Brothers mar-
ched, but four of their Companies re-
voling,

volting, and the rest being disheartened by that, the Brothers found it convenient to return back to London: where the Queen left nothing undone, that was necessary to animate or encrease her Army: yet She fearing lest the Citizens of London should open to Haviet the Rochester Port, sent some to treat with him, and to assure him, that if the Spanish Match displeased the English, She would never think on it any more. But he asked such extravagant high terms, that all treaty was broke off.

But 1. this Haviet when he was strongest, and advanced to Mr. Varillas's Camdauart, was but 4000. strong in all: but Mr. Varillas is generous, and would bestow a good Army on him. 2. Those who have been in Maidsten, will not find it a great matter to be sure of such a place. 3. Mr. Varillas comes pretty near the true Date here, but yet does not hit it; for it was on the 25. of January, and not on the 22. that Wyatt came to Rochester. 4. His Ignorance of the Map of England must be suteable to the rest of his learning; since it is but a very short day's Journey from Rochester to London: and even
his

his *hearsay*, which next to *Florimond* is his chief *Garand*, might have helped him here : since this is the part of the whole road of *England*, that is best known to Strangers. 5. Notwithstanding all the expedition that he makes the *Queen* use, some dayes past before She sent out any Troops, and so the Midnight March is spoiled, which no doubt he thought a beautiful stroke, and for which he has somewhat in parallel, perhaps to enrich the *Panegyrick*. 6. The *Queen* had no Troops about her, and all she could get together, was two Troops of Horse, and six Companys of Foot, with which the City of *London* furnished her : so she sent first a *Herald* to *Rocheſter*, to try if *Wiat* (alias *Haviet*) could be persuaded to return to his duty. 7. The Duke of *Norfolk's Brother* was never *Admiral* of *England*, nor did he go along with him at this time. 8. The *Queen* made no such abject Propositions to *Wiat* as he pretends; for she only sent some to see what it was that he demanded, and when he proposed very high Terms, they gave over all treaty with him : here the *Heroine*
sinks

sinks a little, perhaps this must be to hide some feeble stroak that must appear in the *Panegyrick*. 9. The *Queen* went indeed into *London*, and gave the Citizens very tender Assurances of the love she bare to her People, and that she did nothing in the Treaty for the *Spanish Match*, but by the Advice of her whole *Council*; but she never said that she would not think on it any more. 10. For his *Rocheſter Port* to the City of *London*, he will find it in the same Map, in which the Suburb at the end of the Bridg, on the other side of the River, is called *Camdauart*: for he has given us all these marks of it, and perhaps he found it so in some of those Manuscripts, that were communicated to him, under the confidences of Friendship: and I dare answer for him, that he will keep this Secret most Religiously.

LXXVI. He goes on, and says, that *Haviet* stopt a little; either to see what answer the *Queen* would send to his Propositions: or perhaps it was because his Troops were weary with a long march: in the mean while the *Queen* put matters in a most wonderful order: She sent
H away

146 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
away the Spanish Ambassadors, who
were an Eye-sore to her People: She cal-
led the Nobility and chief Citizens about
her, and promised to them in a most pa-
thetical Harangue, to call a Parliament,
and not to take a Husband but by its Ad-
vice; by this She prevailed so far that the
Citizens were contented to let all the
Locks of the City Gates be changed, and
to deliver the Keys to the Duke of Nor-
folk, which was the critical thing that
saved all; so small a matter serves to pre-
serve or to overturn Monarchies, where
Heresy has once got in. So the Queen
having by the efficacy of her Harangue,
gained many brave men to come to encrease
her Troops, She placed some on the
Banks of the River to hinder the Rebels,
who were now at Camdavart, from pas-
sing: and She drew up the rest at St.
James's, which was the place where
probably they would endeavour to enter
the City: but Haviet finding the Bridg at
Camdavart was cut by the Duke of Nor-
folk, left his foot that were heavily
armed, and marched with his light Horse
to Quincethan, where he passed the
River, having defeated 500. men that the
Q. had sent thither to dispute the passage.

Every tittle here is Fiction, and the
Fiction

Fiction is very ill contrived. 1. *Wiat* could expect no Answer from the *Queen* to his extravagant Demands; for those whom she had sent to him, broke with him in very ill terms. 2. That Treaty was at *Deptford*, and instead of a long March from that to his *Camdavit*, it is but a short walk of an hour or two at most. 3. The *Spanish Ambassadors* were never sent away; here again the *Heroine* sinks. 4. She made no Promise to call a *Parliament*: but said only, that she would do nothing but by the advice of her *Council*. 5. It seems there is some Mystery in this, that Mr. *Varillas* makes the *Queen* as ready at all times to make Promises, as she was resolved to break them: now since Mr. *Varillas* writes History, not as he finds it, but as he thinks fit to dress it, there is some reason to believe, that in his representing *Queen Mary* so little a *Slave to her Word*, he had still his *Panegyrick* in his Eye. 5. If one apprehended any had Pick-locks to his House, the changing of Locks, and the looking after the Keys, were a very proper method; but this is I believe the first time, that ever the security of a great *City* was thought to turn upon

148 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
such a matter: and Mr. *Varillas* may pretend to the Monopoly of this Secret in Fortification, since it is most certainly his own Invention. 7. If Mr. *Varillas* is so ignorant as not to know that *Gunpowder* was in use at that time, yet *Hatchets* and *Hammers* were always in use, and these are good enough against Gates and Locks. 8. The *Queen's* Troops could not well stand over against his *Camdavar*, to hinder *Haviet's* passage; unless they stood to the middle in water: for there is no *Key* there, the Buildings being continued to the *Rivers* side. 9. The *Bridg* of *London* was not cut, but only defended. 10. *Haviet* had no Foot heavily armed, but a Company of Countrey People brought together, and he marched with them all. 11. As our Author describes S. *James's*, it seems he fancies there is another *Bridg* upon the *Thames* there: but since *Haviet* had not Boats enough for passing; he could not cross the River lower than *Kingston* *Bridg*; for the *Thames* is not fordable in winter below that. 12. *Kingston* *Bridg* was indeed cut; but that was all the Opposition that he met there: yet as our Author describes it, it does not seem that he knew there was a *Bridg* there; for he speaks only of *Crossing the River*.

LXXVII. But now to conclude the Romance, he tells us, That Haviet broke thro the Queen's Army at St. James's, P. 367. and advanced to the Gate of the City; but here, the new Locks and Keys did mighty service: for the Gates could not be opened, so he was forced to retire, but even that was no more possible for him to do, since the Queens Troops were in too good an Order, and She her self appeared at the Head of them, and did so wonderfully animate them, that in the end poor Haviet was taken, and 200. more with him, who were all led along with him to the Execution.

1. There was no resistance made to *Wiat* at all; for he marcht straight on to the Gates of the City. 2. Certainly by Mr. *Varillas's* Story he was the modestest Rebel that ever was, who came and knockt at the Gates, and then went away, because the D. of *Norfolk* had the Keys. 3- If the Queen's Troops had been in such order, one would think they would not have trusted so much to their Locks and Keys, as to have suffered *Wiat* to go on to the City Gates. 4. Our Author is unhappy in every thing: for he did not know that which was set out as the most Extraordinary part of the Queen's behaviour; who did not come out and ride at the Head of her Troops, as he fancies; but it being *Ashwednesday* morning, She went on with the Devotions of the day, and continued all the morning at prayers. Mr. *Varillas* says nothing of this, for one or two reasons, either because he knew it not, or because he had not found out what was fit to be set against this in his *Panegyrick*. 5. It was per-

150 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
haps upon some other part of the same
piece, that he was thinking, when he makes
200. to be taken with *Wiat*, and all to be
carried to accompany him to his Execution.
For there were fifty eight persons that were
attainted for the *Rebellion*; but there was on-
ly a small number even of those, that were
pickt out to be made Examples: many of
those that were condemned, being reserved
to be Instances of the *Queen's* Mercy: and
She was so far from delighting in Scenes of
Blood, that her Clemency on this occasion
was much magnified: To make every one
of the Prisoners dye, comes nearer the se-
verity of some later Practices, than the
Mildnesses of that *Princesses* Reign, who
except in the matters of *Religion*, gave no
cause to complain of the Rigor of her pro-
ceedings: She had not *Chief Justices* that
hanged up *Rebels* by Hundreds, or that con-
demned them so suddenly, that they were
to be led out immediatly to Execution; such
things were not then known in *England*: but
She on the contrary, when 600. *Prisoners*
were taken, was contented with their
coming to beg their Pardons with Halters
about their Necks, and gave them all their
Lives. Her *Council* was wise: She designed
to change the *Religion*, and therefore She
thought the best way to recommend her
own, was to shew the greatest readiness to
forgive the most dangerous *Rebellion* that
perhaps ever *Princess* went through. The
hanging up of *Rebels* by hundreds, She knew
well, would raise in the minds of her People
a Horror against her and her *Ministry*, and
against

against her Religion; as if they had delighted in Blood. Since Cruelty in all persons has somewhat that is base as well as black. She was merciful in her own nature, and the Councils of that Religion were at *that time* better laid, than to be capable of such Errors.

And now I have done with Mr. *Varillas's History*, and I fancy the world will have done with it likewise very soon. I dare answer so far for the *Tast* and the *Judgment* of the *English Nation*, as to depend upon it, that none of his works will be any more asked after there. I have kept my self as much within the temper of stile, that I thought became me, as was possible. I confess, it raises nature somewhat, to see a man of his Age, and that had, by I know not what chance, gained some Reputation in the world, imploy his Pen with so much malice to defame our *Nation*, and our Religion: but by a curse peculiar to himself, his Ignorance is such an Antidote to all the ill Effects of his Malice, that his Writings can do no hurt, but to himself, and to his Printers. I thought a severe Correction was necessary, when he had now for a second time shewed that he was Incurable: and that the discipline that I had formerly given him, had not brought him to a sounder mind. And therefore if this goes a little deeper, it was the Inveteracy of the Evil, that forced me to it. Let men write truth as to matters of Fact, let them write it decently, and let them set themselves against my *History* as much as they will, I will answer them with all
the

152 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*
the Softness and Decency, that becomes a Man and a *Christian*: and I will either confess my Mistakes, if I am convinced of them, or discover theirs with that Gravity of stile, that is necessary: for to handle a man *without mercy*, tho not *without Justice*, (which was the censure that an Eminent person pass'd upon my former *Reflections* on Mr. *Varillas*) is a thing so contrary to my nature, that it must be a very Extraordinary provocation that can carry me to it. And I dare appeal to all men, even to those of the *Roman* persuasion, if the Venom and Folly that is spread over Mr. *Varillas's* second *Volum*, does not justify all that Scorn with which I treat him. It must be confessed to be somewhat Extraordinary, that in an Age, such as ours is, and in a City such as *Paris* is, a man should undertake to bring in the *History* of a *Nation*, into his Work, concerning which he has so little Information, as neither to know the *Map*, nor the *Names*, the *Laws*, nor the *Government*, nor the most publick Transactions that are to be found even in the worst and cheapest Books; and yet the most amasing part of all is, to see this man write with such an air of Assurance, and to pretend to discover the profoundest Secrets. He that would desire to see very ill sights, if they are but extraordinary, would he tempted to go and look upon Mr. *Varillas*, and examin his Meen and his Phisognomy a little; for certainly he is a man of the most singular Composition, that the present Age, or for ought I know, that any other has ever produced.

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